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THE

MORAL AND HISTORICAL

WORKS OF

LORD BACON

INCLUDING HIS

ESSAYS, APOPHTHEGMS, WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS,
NEW ATLANTIS, AND LIFE OF
HENRY THE SEVENTH

Bacon, Francis, viscount St. Albans,
1561-1626.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION AND NOTES

BY

JOSEPH DEVEY, M.A.

LONDON
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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BACON .. .. *Page* xi

ESSAYS; OR, COUNSELS CIVIL AND MORAL.

I.—OF TRUTH 1
II.—OF DEATH 4
III.—OF UNITY IN RELIGION 6
IV.—OF REVENGE 12
V.—OF ADVERSITY 13
VI.—OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION 15
VII.—OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN 18
VIII.—OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE 19
IX.—OF ENVY 21
X.—OF LOVE 26
XI.—OF GREAT PLACE 28
XII.—OF BOLDNESS 31
XIII.—OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE .. 33
XIV.—OF NOBILITY 36
XV.—OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES 38
XVI.—OF ATHEISM 45
XVII.—OF SUPERSTITION 49
XVIII.—OF TRAVEL 50
XIX.—OF EMPIRE 53
XX.—OF COUNSEL 58
XXI.—OF DELAYS 63
XXII.—OF CUNNING 64
XXIII.—OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF 68
XXIV.—OF INNOVATIONS 69
XXV.—OF DISPATCH 70
XXVI.—OF SEEMING WISE 72
XXVII.—OF FRIENDSHIP 73
XXVIII.—OF EXPENSE 80
XXIX.—OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES 81

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Page

XXX.—Of Regimen of Health 90
XXXI.—Of Suspicion 92
XXXII.—Of Discourse 93
XXXIII.—Of Plantations 95
XXXIV.—Of Riches 98
XXXV.—Of Prophecies 101
XXXVI.—Of Ambition 104
XXXVII.—Of Masques and Triumphs 106
XXXVIII.—Of Nature in Men 108
XXXIX.—Of Custom and Education 109
XL.—Of Fortune 111
XLI.—Of Usury 113
XLII.—Of Youth and Age 117
XLIII.—Of Beauty 119
XLIV.—Of Deformity 120
XLV.—Of Building 121
XLVI.—Of Gardens 125
XLVII.—Of Negotiating 131
XLVIII.—Of Followers and Friends 132
XLIX.—Of Suitors 134
L.—Of Studies 136
LI.—Of Faction 137
LII.—Of Ceremonies and Respects 139
LIII.—Of Praise 140
LIV.—Of Vain Glory 142
LV.—Of Honour and Reputation 144
LVI.—Of Judicature 146
LVII.—Of Anger 150
LVIII.—Of Vicissitude of Things 152
A Fragment of an Essay of Fame 157
On Death 159

APOPHTHEGMS 164

ORNAMENTA RATIONALIA: or Elegant Sentences .. 191

SHORT NOTES FOR CIVIL CONVERSATION 198

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS; a Series of Mythological Fables.

Preface 200
I.—Cassandra, or Divination. Explained of too ree and unseasonable Advice 203
II.—Typhon, or a Rebel. Explained of Rebellion .. 204
III.—The Cyclops, or the Ministers of Terror. Explained of base Court Officers 206
IV.—Narcissus, or Self-love 207
V.—The River Styx, or Leagues. Explained of

Necessity, in the Oaths or Solemn Leagues of Princes .. .. *Page* 208
VI.—Pan, or Nature. Explained of Natural Philosophy 209
VII.—Perseus, or War. Explained of the Preparation and Conduct necessary to War 216
VIII.—Endymion, or a Favourite. Explained of Court Favourites 219
IX.—The Sister of the Giants, or Fame. Explained of Public Detraction 220
X.—Acteon and Pentheus, or a Curious Man. Explained of Curiosity, or Prying into the Secrets of Princes and Divine Mysteries 221
XI.—Orpheus, or Philosophy. Explained of Natural and Moral Philosophy 222
XII.—Cœlum, or Beginnings. Explained of the Creation, or Origin of all Things 225
XIII.—Proteus, or Matter. Explained of Matter and its Changes 227
XIV.—Memnon, or a Youth too forward. Explained of the fatal Precipitancy of Youth 228
XV.—Tythonus, or Satiety. Explained of Predominant Passions 229
XVI.—Juno's Suitor, or Baseness. Explained of Submission and Abjection 230
XVII.—Cupid, or an Atom. Explained of the Corpuscular Philosophy .. .. *ib*
XVIII.—Diomed, or Zeal. Explained of Persecution, or Zeal for Religion 233
XIX.—Dædalus, or Mechanical Skill. Explained of Arts and Artists in Kingdoms and States .. 236
XX.—Ericthonius, or Imposture. Explained of the Improper Use of Force in Natural Philosophy .. 238
XXI.—Deucalion, or Restitution. Explained of a Useful Hint in Natural Philosophy 239
XXII.—Nemesis, or the Vicissitude of Things. Explained of the Reverses of Fortune .. .. *ib.*
XXIII.—Achelous, or Battle. Explained of War by Invasion 241
XXIV.—Dionysus, or Bacchus. Explained of the Passions 242
XXV.—Atalanta and Hippomenes, or Gain. Explained of the Contest betwixt Art and Nature 245
XXVI.—Prometheus, or the State of Man. Explained of an Over-ruling Providence, and of Human Nature 247
XXVII.—Icarus and Scylla and Charybdis, or the Middle Way. Explained of Mediocrity in Natural and Moral Philosophy 256
XXVIII.—Sphinx, or Science. Explained of the Sciences 258
XXIX.—Proserpine, or Spirit. Explained of the Spirit included in Natural Bodies 261

XXX.—Metis, or Counsel. Explained of Princes and their Council .. .. *Page* 264
XXXI.—The Sirens, or Pleasures. Explained of Men's Passion for Pleasures 265

NEW ATLANTIS 269
HENRY THE SEVENTH 307
HENRY THE EIGHTH 479
QUEEN ELIZABETH 480
HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES 493
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN 495
JULIUS CÆSAR 499
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR 504

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present volume contains all the historical works of Lord Bacon, and the principal of his moral works; only a few pieces which are no longer read being omitted. A companion volume, comprising a complete translation of the *Instauratio Magna*, of the nine books of *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, not hitherto given in any edition of his works, and the *Novum Organum*, fully illustrated with notes, will be found in the Philosophical Library.

H. G. B.

London, Nov., 1852.

INTRODUCTION,

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL.

AMONG the great spirits whose claim to undisputed empire over men's thoughts has been ratified by the concurrent testimony of ages and nations, Lord Bacon stands deservedly pre-eminent. If he does not occupy the foremost place, his pretensions are as high and legitimate as any of his competitors'. The question is not, however, one of degree, but of kind, and consequently will be decided according to the estimation in which men are inclined to hold different objects. If ideal philosophy be regarded, and the application of the rational faculty to objects of moral speculation, the palm must be awarded to Socrates and Plato. If the art of mental analysis be considered, and the power of distinctly looking into the human mind, and tracing out the various laws which produce and control its phenomena, we must as readily admit the pretensions of Aristotle. But should we direct our views to physical science, the creation of material arts and the extension of man's power over nature, we shall be compelled to grace Bacon's temples with the proudest wreath of glory. Despite the splendid attempts of Plato and Aristotle to explain everything, the result proved that their empire was bounded by the confines of the material universe. The arts and discoveries of the Athenian sages, splendid as they are in the spiritual world, and even potent to liberate the soul from the tyranny of the passions, still stop here. They might be exercised in a cloister, a desert, or in a dungeon, as they were exercised under the despotism of the most degraded of the Roman emperors, without teaching man any other art than that of patience under calamities, and that of stringing together the speculative truths proposed by science or revelation. These advantages were, doubtless, important in their day, but they failed to disclose one physical truth, to protect the civilized world from the incursion of savages, or rescue mankind from barbarism. Bacon, though not the first to detect this lacune in philosophy, was the first to bring to its removal the adventurous genius of the Stagyrite, and to explore the mines of physical phenomena with the searching keenness that his predecessor manifested in analyzing the law of the reasoning faculty. Thought and language adjusted themselves

to the pursuit,—new ideas were evolved, and a practical method instituted of applying the inductive syllogism to the interpretation of nature.

If Bacon discovered no great law himself, he not only propounded the system by which all might be reached, but gave hints which enabled his successors to light at once on the lurking-place of the discovery, and roused mankind with heart-stirring appeals to pursue the only legitimate track of natural science. If a Newton was required to exemplify the utility of Bacon's Organon, by a series of splendid discoveries, a Plato was also needed to exhibit the highest triumphs of the reasoning faculty before its laws could be detected by the keen glance of the Stagyrite; and notwithstanding that both the ancient and the modern philosopher have had their share of detractors, mankind have been wonderfully concurrent in paying fealty to each as the great arbiters of the destinies of their species. The influence of the Stagyrite extends over a waste of two thousand years, through which, with some knocks from those who ought to have been his greatest friends, and with damaging support from that school whose descendants have proved his mortal enemies, he has generally contrived to mould the minds of those who sway the world. The intellect of Bacon has only impressed itself upon two centuries, and yet so unanimous has been the verdict of mankind, and so astounding the discoveries which have resulted from his method, that his fame may be pronounced to stand upon as firm a basis as that of Aristotle. Not an age passes wherein the inquiries which he continues to excite and direct do not lead to some practical result, either in the diminution of human evil, or in the increase of man's power and enjoyment; and so rapid has been the stride of scientific improvement since his day, that men now justly regard that state of learning which the scholastics surveyed with raptures of admiration, as the mere infancy of knowledge.

But Bacon was not only the high priest of nature, he was also the Lord Chancellor of England, and notwithstanding that some of his actions in relation to this office will occasionally awaken the censure of the reader, there are traits and performances which must challenge his applause, and transmit his name with lustre to posterity. The eloquence and searching analysis he displayed in philosophy followed him to the bar. His legal arguments, of which that on Perpetuities may be taken as a type, are among the most masterly ever heard in Westminster Hall. His history of the Alienation Office may be pronounced worthy of Hale, while his dissertation on the courts of equity certainly throws the more popular treatise of Grotius into the shade. The question of law reform, so popular in our day, was first raised by him, and advocated in a speech of reasoning eloquence which at once secured

him the favour of the Commons; and though his exhortations were unheeded till the Barebones Parliament thought that lawyers might be dispensed with altogether, and though they have been neglected from the Restoration till our own times, it must be borne in mind that the reforms already effected have been mainly directed by his councils, and that in carrying out that wide measure of chancery reform, on which all parties are now bent, he is our safest guide. Though the son of a lord-keeper, and the nephew of a prime minister, he had, like all aspiring legists, to fight his way up to the highest posts of his profession by merit alone; nor does it appear that his official kinsmen ever opened their lips, or stretched out their hand, except to push him back, or asperse his fame.

Whether, then, we consider moral admonitions, the highest philosophical achievements, practical civil wisdom, or the most splendid legal and forensic talents, the life and works of Lord Bacon stand if not alone in the world, at least without their rival in modern annals.* The characters of ordinary thinkers may be duly estimated when the generation with which their influence ends has passed away, but the merits of those who have given an immutable direction to the resistless tide of human reason, and fashioned the channel through which it is destined to flow, can only be fully appreciated after centuries have tested the result. High as Bacon's name now stands, every succeeding age must increase its elevation, and centuries roll away before it can be said to be graced with its final trophies.

Francis Bacon was born at York House,† in the Strand, on the 22nd January, (old style) 1560. His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, one of the greatest ornaments of Elizabeth's administration, and, lord-keeper of the great seal, contributed by his practical foresight to raise England to a height in European councils which has only been realized by the strongest governments of later times. His mother, Ann Cook, the daughter of Edward the Sixth's tutor, was skilled in the Latin and Greek

* To the universality of this panegyric, Burke, who borrowed from him his sagest political observations, bears testimony: "Who is there that, upon hearing the name of Lord Bacon, does not instantly recognise everything of genius the most profound, everything of literature the most extensive, everything of discovery the most penetrating, everything of observation on human life the most distinguishing and refined? All these must be instantly recognised, for they are all inseparably associated with the name of Lord Verulam."—Speech on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

† York House was so named from having been inhabited by the archbishop of York in the reign of Queen Mary. It was situated on the banks of the Thames, at the bottom of Buckingham-street, Strand. The only vestige of it now remaining is its fine water-gate, built by Inigo Jones. A view of the old house is preserved in that curious and interesting repository Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata.

tongues, which ladies were then accustomed to learn, owing to the dearth of modern literature; and also possessed such facility in French and Italian as to pronounce and translate those languages with ease and correctness. There can be little doubt that Bacon, like many other great men, inherited a large portion of his abilities from his mother, and that she, as the lord-keeper's time was absorbed by more pressing duties, mostly contributed to fashion the infant stream of his thoughts, and give them a healthy direction. Of his younger days, nothing more is recorded than his breaking open the drums and trumpets his nurses bought him, to explore the locality of the sound; his leaving the ordinary field sports, to discover the cause of an echo in a neighbouring vault, and his sprightly answers to Queen Elizabeth, who used to stroke his head and call him her little lord-keeper. "It is certain," says Macaulay, "that at at twelve years old he busied himself with very ingenious speculations on the art of legerdemain; a subject which, as Dugald Stewart has most justly observed, merits much more attention from philosophers than it has ever received."

In the latter end of his thirteenth year he was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, but it does not appear that he ever felt at home in what are, or ought to be, the halls of science. His tutor, Whitgift, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, never thought him worthy of a remark in his writings. Doubtless, Bacon placed too high a value on being well with his age, to make an open onslaught on the institutions and the men whom it regarded with veneration; but it requires no great sagacity to discern in his remarks on cloistered learning, his opinion of alma-mater, and its sister university. He deplored, as we deplore now, and are making some attempts to remedy, the absence of scientific studies in the British universities; and covertly described the philosophy expounded within their walls, as so much spider thread spun out of the brain of the scholastics, admirable for its fineness, but without any use or purpose in nature. From his wrangling with Aristotle, whose logic he unaccountably deemed diametrically opposed to his own, there is no doubt that he experienced some hard knocks at the university; and that, like Swift, Goldsmith, Gibbon, and Adam Smith, he was treated as too stubborn and erratic for a systematic course of study, and left pretty much to follow the bent of his own inclination. Having kept only eight terms, Bacon quitted the university without a degree, and being intended by his father for the political profession, was intrusted to the care of Sir Amyas Paulet, the queen's ambassador at Paris, and occasionally employed by him in offices of trust for the crown. After visiting the chief provinces of France he settled in Poictiers, and devoted three years of that period of life which is most averse to reflection, to

study, and retirement. To this sojourn we owe not only his Essays, and the Notes on the State of Europe, which display the rising sagacity of the veteran statesman, but all the graces of style and manner which so distinguish him from his contemporaries.

While Bacon was engaged in his studies he received news (Feb. 20, 1579,) of his father's death. Like Philip of Arragon, Sir Nicholas Bacon perished from the effects of civility. The politeness of a servant, who would not presume to close a window before which his master had fallen asleep, killed him. Bacon hastened home, but found his eldest brother in possession of the patrimonial estate, with nothing left for himself but a slender fifth portion, totally inadequate to the maintenance of his station in society. After many futile applications to his uncle, the lord-treasurer Burleigh, for political employment, he entered Gray's Inn in his twentieth year, resolved to scale the heights of power by the more arduous but surer path of law. For ten or eleven succeeding years, he rarely suffered either amusement or litera ture to disturb the tenor of his professional duties, and seems to have fully mastered the common law, and familiarised his mind with every branch of jurisprudence. About this period he published a draft of his philosophical notions, under the title of *Temporis partum maximum*, (The Greatest Birth of Time;) which, however, dropped still-born from the press, the world only knowing of its existence through a paragraph in one of his letters to Father Fulgentio: nor does it appear that the copies which he scattered among his friends did him any further service than to single him out as a rash speculatist. Bacon, emboldened by his high talents and the claims of his family on the crown, continued to ply the Cecils with solicitations, but without any other result than testy refusals and lectures on his arrogance and presumption. The lord-treasurer, though a man of cool judgment and calculating foresight, had no regard for intellectual merit, and thought even one hundred pounds too handsome a gratuity for Spenser's "Fairy Queen," which he termed a foolish old song. Had he been childless, the same reason would have led him to bring forward, which now impelled him to push back, his illustrious kinsman; but he had a son, and being resolved to make the premiership hereditary in his family, thought no means beneath him to blast Bacon's legal reputation. Elizabeth was told that the son of the late lord-keeper was a superficial legist and a rash philosophical dreamer; and the unlucky *Temporis partum maximum* was doubtless adduced in proof of the allegation, that Bacon was more calculated to perplex than to promote the despatch of civil business. The philosopher, however, was persevering, and stoically impervious to repulse. Burleigh, at last wearied out, gave him the registrar of the Star Chamber in reversion; but the

place not falling due till after the lapse of twenty years, Bacon complained that "it was like another man's fair ground fattening upon his house, which might revive his prospects, but did not fill his barns."*

In 1593 he sat for Middlesex, and delivered his maiden speech in favour of law reform. The praises which followed so intoxicated him, that in the ensuing debate on the subsidy, he broke out into a flaming oration against the court, denouncing the claim as extravagant, and dwelling with pathetic sympathy on the miseries which such exactions must cause among the country gentry, who would be constrained to sell their plate and brass pans to meet the demands of the crown. Bacon carried his motion for an inquiry, and struck all the courtiers with horror and amazement. The queen, highly incensed, desired it to be intimated to the delinquent, that he must never more expect favour or promotion. The spirit of the rising patriot was cowed; with bated breath, he whispered expressions of repentance and amendment, and never afterwards played the patriot further than was consistent with his interest at court.

Egerton, the Attorney-General, being soon after elevated to the Rolls, and Coke becoming the chief law officer of the crown, the solicitor's place fell vacant, and opened to Bacon a path to the highest professional honours. He evidently thought this the great crisis of his life, and spared no pains to secure the golden prize which leads to the guardianship of the royal conscience. His unlucky speech, and the jealousy of the Cecils, lay in his path, and to remove these obstacles he had to show deference to men he hated, and pay dutiful obedience to all the wishes of the crown. After soliciting lord-keeper Puckering and the Cecils to use their influence, he resolved to take a bold step, and address the queen, who, however, recalled his unlucky subsidy speech, an his philosophical predilections as fatal to his claims. But Bacon did not give up the battle. The talents of Essex were immediately put in requisition to obtain the solicitor's place, but the queen could ill brook the rising popularity of the favourite, and was too glad to avail herself of an occasion to cross his views. Essex, however, had an inkling that a man of such splendid abilities failed only through the weakness of his patron, and begged of him, in language dictated by spontaneous generosity, to accept some recompense for the time he had misspent in courting the favour of a declining patron. "I shall die if I do not somewhat to your fortune; you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you." After a decent resistance, Bacon yielded, and was enfeoffed of land at

* Letter to Burleigh.

Twickenham, which he afterwards sold for £1,800, a great sum in those days.*

Bacon now resolved to disprove the insinuations which had been uttered by Burleigh, with respect to his legal attainments, and wrote a treatise upon the elements and use of common law, applying the inductive mode of reasoning to jurisprudence in ascending to the platform of rules and maxims through the gradual collection of particulars. The publication of his Essays followed, and carried his name at once into the mouth of the public. His philosophical genius, and the force of his language, gave him a greater advantage even than his learning, while his keen perception of the true and beautiful and his analytic powers have made him the marvel, delight, and despair of succeeding essayists.†

These endeavours, successful as they were, do not appear to have gained him much practice, or to have placed him beyond the necessity of compounding with his creditors. Authorship brought in nothing but fame in those days. To rid himself of embarrassments, so irksome to a man of genius, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve his affairs by marriage. Lady Hatton, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Cecil, and early relict of the son of Chancellor Hatton, was the beauty at whose shrine Bacon ventured to offer up his first vows. But the rich widow had unfortunately possessed herself of a copy of Bacon's Essays, and finding therein love described as an ignoble passion, fit only for base and petulant natures, she ascribed his professions of attachment rather to her money than to her person, and rejected his suit. The disappointment was the more severely felt as the young lady capitulated to a rival, his sworn antagonist, Sir

* This land was Twickenham Park, which stretched along the banks of the Thames from Richmond-bridge (then only a ferry) to Isleworth, and extended probably to the pathway now called Isleworth-lane, opposite Marble-hill. Lord Bacon's house was pulled down many years since, and no vestige of it is said to remain; we believe, however, that traces of it are still discernible on the site of Little St. Margaret's, known in the vicinity as Lord Cavendish's house. This fine tract of land (several hundred acres), which, in Bacon's time, appears to have had only his own house upon it, is now covered with villas, including Lord Kilmorrey's new and magnificent mansion, "St. Margaret's," built nearly on the site of the old mansion of that name, lately pulled down. The land alone would now be worth more than £100,000.

† "In Bacon's Essays the superiority of his genius appears to the greatest advantage; the novelty and depth of his reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of the subject. The volume may be read from beginning to end in a few hours, and yet after the twentieth perusal one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before. This, indeed, is a characteristic of all Bacon's writings, and is only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible aliment they furnish to our own thoughts, and the sympathetic activity they impart to our torpid faculties."—*Dugald Stewart*

Edward Coke, a crabbed old lawyer, with six children, and stricken with infirmities.

The energy with which Bacon now devoted himself to his profession enabled him to place his legal reputation beyond the reach of calumny by his celebrated argument on perpetuities, which he afterwards fashioned into a reading on the Statute of Uses, and delivered as double reader in Gray's Inn. This tract has imparted to the law of real property the undeviating exactness it has since preserved, reconciling life-interests with perpetuities and providing facilities for the transfer of land, while it secures the stability of families so necessary in a fixed monarchy.

These legal triumphs conspired, with the death of Lord Burleigh, to raise his credit with Queen Elizabeth, who was a visitor at Twickenham when the earl who conferred that domain on Bacon returned from his unfortunate expedition to Ireland. As he, in addition to the other misfortunes of the campaign, had quitted the army without her Majesty's permission, the queen appeared indignant, and named a commission, in which Bacon was retained as council extraordinary for the crown, to examine the unfortunate earl on the various misdemeanors which truth or jealousy imputed to him. In these proceedings Bacon seems at first to have played the part of a prudent friend, in striving to effect a reconciliation between Elizabeth and her favourite ; but his endeavours on both sides were misconstrued, and rewarded with suspicions of double-dealing and treachery. "The earl looked on him as a spy of the queen, the queen as a creature of the earl."

"The reconciliation," says Macaulay, "which Bacon had laboured to effect appeared utterly hopeless. A thousand signs, legible to eyes far less keen than his, announced that the fall of his patron was at hand. He shaped his course accordingly. When Essex was brought before the Council to answer for his conduct in Ireland, Bacon after a faint attempt to excuse himself from taking part against his friend, submitted to the Queen's pleasure, and appeared at the bar in support of the charges. But a darker scene was behind. The unhappy young nobleman, made reckless by despair, ventured on a rash and criminal enterprise, which brought on him the highest penalty of the law." When the nation loudly resented the fall of the unfortunate earl, Bacon, at the command of the queen, justified his execution in a pamphlet ; but posterity has never entirely forgiven his ingratitude, or his apologists succeeded in finding a sufficient excuse for it.

The queen did not long survive her favourite, and the attention of both her courtiers and statesmen began to be directed towards the Scottish king. Bacon was determined not to be lost among the crowd, and we find him busily employed in soliciting James and his courtiers. After despatching letters to

two of the more important, he resolved to address James himself, and thus hit off his nature to the life. "High and mighty sovereign Lord. It is observed by some upon a place in the Canticles, *ego sum flos Campum et lilium convallium*, that *à dispari*, it is not said: *Ego sum flos horti et lilium montium*, because the majesty of that person is not inclosed for a few, nor appropriated to the great." Excusing his freedom of approach, with this quibble, he then proceeds to veil his own claims under those of his kindred, and concludes with "sacrificing himself as a burnt-offering to the king."

Bacon was kindly received, and soon found that his prospects were by no means diminished by the death of the queen. As soon as James had domesticated himself at Whitehall, he began to lavish titles and honours with so wide a profusion that there hardly remained any other mark of distinction than that of having escaped them. The public were amazed and confused with the heap of new titles, and books were announced undertaking to help weaker memories to a knowledge of the nobility. Bacon requested to be knighted in a batch of three hundred, who were about to receive that dignity. Just at this period he was offering his heart to the daughter of a rich alderman, and intimated to Cecil that the concession of his request would expedite the match, and release him from the anomalous position of being the only untitled lawyer on his mess at Gray's-Inn. His wish was gratified, and Miss Barnham immediately became Lady Bacon.

His first appearance under the new reign was as one of the counsel for the Crown on the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, arising out of the conspiracy to place Lady Arabella Stewart on the throne. He was not, however, permitted by Coke, who was extremely jealous of his powers, either to examine the witnesses or address the jury. But being returned for Ipswich in James's first parliament, he raised his crest, and made himself popular with the country party by advocating a moderate redress of grievances, while he obtained the favour of the king by supporting his pet plan of a union with Scotland. In the autumn of the year, he paid a visit to his friend, Sir Henry Saville, provost of Eton, and on his return, addressed a letter to him on the subject of education, inclosing a tract entitled, "Helps to the Intellectual Powers," which pointed out new methods of fortifying the memory, and assisting the rationalistic faculty. Soon after he proposed to write a "History of England," and sought to move the king to assist him in the undertaking by writing a tract, "On the Greatness of the Kingdom of Great Britain." Contemporaneously with these efforts, he prosecuted his treatise "On the Advancement of Learning," which appeared the following year and immediately placed his name among the

first writers of the age. In this work he reviewed the state of the sciences, pointed out the obstacles which had obstructed their progress, and suggested sage and practical hints for their entire renovation. The eloquent wisdom he displayed in this survey had a marvellous effect in reviving a zeal for science in every part of Europe, and in enlarging the domain of knowledge; so that if Cæsar's compliment to Cicero be worth anything, in extending the limits of human wit he obtained a glory greater than that of enlarging the boundaries of the Roman world. The elevation of Coke, in 1607, to the justiceship of the Common Pleas, opened a passage for Bacon to the solicitor's place.

In the mean time Bacon went steadily on with his philosophical labours. He published his "Cogitata et Visa," which he afterwards expanded into the "Novum Organum," the most wonderful effort of analogical wit ever exhibited. Had Bacon written nothing else, this work would have been sufficient to clothe him with imperishable renown. He likewise published his "Sapientia Veterum," and a new and greatly enlarged edition of his Essays. But with his foot on the ladder of promotion Bacon was not the man to stand still, and he wrote to James, with a view to extort a promise of the attorney's place when it should fall due. The chief-justiceship of the King's Bench soon after becoming vacant, Bacon influenced the king to thrust the office on Coke and remove Hobart to the Common Pleas; that he might secure the attorneyship. The manœuvre was successful; the men moved as the wires were drawn, and Bacon became the head legal adviser of the Crown. The king created him privy counsellor, which caused him to resign his private practice, and give a free rein to his speculative studies. The "Novum Organum" was prosecuted with renewed zeal, and a proposition appeared from his pen touching the amendment of the civil law. In his scheme he does not venture to codify the common law, but to reform the statute-book, and extract from the jumble of reports a series of sound and consistent decisions. He not only wrote valuable treatises to explain and improve the law of England, but induced the king to appoint reporters, who should authoritatively print such decisions of the courts as were useful, and guard against the publication of crude and contradictory cases.

In 1617, Bacon, who had previously been appointed chancellor to the duchy of Cornwall, became lord keeper. The philosopher is rather degraded than elevated by the trappings of civic pomp, yet history condescends to relate, as something accessory to his honour, how he rode between the lord high chancellor and lord of the privy seal, preceded by his mace-bearer and purse-bearer, and followed by a long line of judges,

to the ceremony of his installation. He entered with alacrity on the duties of his new office, cleared out all the arrears of Chancery after a month's sitting, and wrote to the king and Buckingham, who were in Edinburgh endeavouring to persuade the Scots into episcopacy, to apprise them what a vigilant servant they had at Westminster. Coke, who in the mean time had been dismissed, displayed now as much astuteness as his rival in reconstructing his fortunes. He had the sagacity to foresee that the daughter he had by his second wife Lady Hatton, the heir of her mother's broad estates, would not be unacceptable to the needy Sir John Villiers, one of the brothers of the duke of Buckingham, and accordingly pushed the match with all the energy of his character. Lady Hatton, who had separated from her husband, opposed his projects, and ran away with her daughter to a place of concealment near Hampton Court. Coke, with a band of dependants, fled to the rescue with the same alacrity as he had posted off to Theobald's to seize Somerset, and carried off the young lady in triumph. Bacon grew alarmed at the prospect of the marriage bringing his rival again into favour, and determined no engine should remain unemployed to defeat it. He even deigned to forget the rejection of his first love, and opened a correspondence with Lady Hatton. Yellverton, the attorney-general, was instructed to file an information against Coke in the Star Chamber, and the king was importuned with letters designed to show how disastrous the union would be to his interests, in which communications Bacon so far forgot himself as to deal out sarcasms against Buckingham. The king, and, we need not add, the favourite, were enraged. James wrote his chancellor stinging letters of rebuke, and Bacon's eyes were open to the fact that his possession of the great seal depended on a look of Buckingham. He at once abandoned his opposition to the match, and bemoaned his error for proceeding in the matter without consulting the royal wishes.

The breach, however, was not repaired without making the lord keeper sensible of the bondage into which he had fallen. Buckingham had a host of needy relatives to provide for. The king's finances were never in a flourishing state, and to satisfy their clamours and supply his own extravagances, he fell upon the old device of patents and monopolies. These were certain charters granted under the great seal, enabling a few individuals to retain the manufacture of particular articles of trade in their own hands, and arming them with exorbitant powers to break open and ransack any house in which they suspected an illicit manufactory to be carried on. In Elizabeth's reign, such powers had been extensively exercised, but the enormities to which they led raised such an outcry in the nation as

alarmed the queen, and compelled her to revoke the charters. Since that time Bacon had manifested some respect for the feelings of the people, and even declaimed against this mode of plundering them in his "advice" to Buckingham; he now found it necessary to stultify his own lessons, and that at the command of his pupil. As fast as the ingenuity of the favourite could devise patents, Bacon hurried them under the great seal of England, and a band of monopolists was armed with warrants to rob the public, in consideration of handing over to Buckingham a share of the pillage. The people's sense of justice was outraged by an attempt to pass off plated copper-wire for silver lace at more than the ordinary price, and an outcry was immediately raised against Sir John Villiers, Sir Giles Monpesson—supposed to be the original of Massenger's Sir Giles Overreach,—and Sir Francis Monpesson,—his Justice Greedy, —who were the principals in this nefarious transaction. James referred the case to the decision of his chancellor, who, after a decent delay, pronounced the patent to be decidedly beneficial, on the ground of affording employment to the poor.

At this period Bacon was employing his leisure in elaborating a work which was destined to reform the sciences, and introduce a new era in philosophy. In 1620, appeared the "Novum Organum," which had formed the subject of his contemplations for forty-five years, and showed the world that Aristotle might find a rival in the chancellor of Great Britain. Never did voice break so portentously on mankind. The tongues of the Peripatetics were silenced, the babblers of the Academy hushed, and the rising sect of alchemists crouched in the presence of their master. As the supreme legislator of science, he had the universe for his book and the world for his auditory, and enraptured foreign countries with the wisdom of his decisions, while he instructed his own.

"Without any disparagement to the admirable treatise 'De Augmentis,'" says Macaulay, "we may say that, in our judgment, Bacon's greatest performance is the first book of the 'Novum Organum.' All the peculiarities of his extraordinary mind are found there in the highest perfection. Every part of the book blazes with wit, but with wit which is employed only to illustrate and decorate truth. No book ever made so great a revolution in the mode of thinking, overthrew so many prejudices, introduced so many new opinions."

Bacon was now at the height of his prosperity. York House was fitted up for his town residence, in a style of grandeur unknown in his father's days, and Ben Jonson has done exquisite justice to the champagne fêtes and the oratory of the owner. In addition to his villa at Kew, he erected a private retreat at Gorhambury, at the cost of £10,000, where he used to entertain

Hobbes and a few choice spirits of the time. From thence he was called, not unwillingly, to attend the king's court at Theobald's, where he was raised to the peerage under the title of Viscount St. Alban's, Buckingham and Carew supporting his robe of state, and Lord Wentworth bearing his coronet. Three days after, the parliament assembled which was to convict him.

The attention of the new House of Commons was first directed to the copper lace business, in which the abuses were so enormous, as to excite a fearful crusade against monopolies and projectors. Rumours also were set afloat about corruption in high places; disappointed suitors in Chancery came forth to assail the integrity of the chancellor. The fathers of Pym and Hampden were not to be deterred, by the splendour of the philosopher, from prying into the character of the judge. One Aubrey said he had been advised to give £100 to the chancellor, to expedite matters, and yet after many delays, Bacon had delivered a killing decree against him. Egerton, another petitioner, averred that to procure his favour, he had been induced to present him with £400, under colour of a gratuity for certain services Bacon had rendered him when attorney-general, notwithstanding which he got an adverse award. One charge brought many more, until the list became so lengthy, as to make an impeachment a matter of course. Coke had gone through the forms of a reconciliation with Bacon, but finding a seat at the privy council board without office or emolument rather dull work, set the inquiry afoot, and though he declined, through motives of decency, to be the chairman of the committee, he directed its councils, and fashioned the instrument which was to lay his rival at his feet.

Bacon does not seem to have been at first aware of the impending danger, thinking himself too highly perched in the king's favour to be struck down by a hand so vulgar as Coke's, and that the worst that could happen would be a dissolution. The king, however, was led by other councils. Williams, the shrewd dean of Westminster, who had impressed Buckingham with a favourable opinion of his sagacity, represented the danger in which the court stood of being swept away by the indiscriminating tide of patriotism, unless some great victim was sacrificed, and justice dealt out to the herd of minor agents. "Swim, with the stream," said Williams, "and you cannot be drowned. Leave Bacon to his fate, send Sir John Villiers on an embassy, and throw overboard Monpesson and Michael as baits to decoy the whales from following a sinking ship." The chancellor was left to read the adoption of this advice in the uncivil air of the dependants of the court, and when his suspicions were confirmed by an interview with the king and his minion, he adjourned the House of Lords, and betook himself to his bed.

The blow soon fell. He was impeached before the lords for

bribery and corruption, in the High Court of Chancery, on twenty-three separate counts. By the advice of the king, he dictated a vague confession of his guilt to be laid before the lords, by the heir apparent, in which he admitted that his conscience upbraided him with sufficient matter for impeachment, but begged their lordships to remember there were *vitia temporis* as well as *vitia hominis*, and entreated them to accept his resignation of the great seal as a sufficient expiation of his errors. The peers, however, demanded a particular answer to each count of the impeachment, and communicated to him the formal articles of charge, with the proofs in support of each to that end. Bacon's confession was complete. He subscribed to each of the charges, admitting the receipt of the illegal sums from his suitors, though qualifying them in some instances as new year's gifts, or gratuities for past services. The king dared not interpose, and final judgment was not long delayed. He was sentenced to pay a fine of £40,000, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, declared incapable of holding any public office, place, or employment, and forbid to come within verge of the court.*

After one night's confinement in the Tower he was released, and consigned to his gloomy mansion in the country. Here he resolved to dedicate his retirement to literature, and begged of James to direct his mind to any undertaking that might add lustre to his reign. The history of Henry VII. was pointed out by the monarch as a work worthy of his pen. Bacon gives us a very graphic and complete view of the principal commotions which disturbed his reign. If he circumstantially details the pompous embassies and empty speeches of the period, it is because history consisted hardly of anything else, the people in those times allowing themselves to be treated like cattle, and permitting princes to decide their highest destinies with infantine simplicity. The character of the age is, notwithstanding, drawn out by Bacon in vivid colours, and the grouping of the incidents shows that, had the times conspired, he lacked not the capacity to rival Hume or Robertson in the highest department of their art. The king, who evidently thought more about this book than the "Novum Organon," which he declared surpassed his comprehension, condescended to correct the MSS., and allowed Bacon to come to town, with a view to expedite its course through the press. This work was immediately followed up by his "History of Life and Death," with an enlarged edition of his Essays, and many of his minor pieces. The following year he expanded the "Treatise on the Advancement of Learning" into nine books, preserving the first book of the original as pre-

* This venality has been elaborately palliated and defended by Montagu, as part and parcel of the condition of the times.

liminary to his design, and amplifying the matter of the second into eight.

Bacon, however, from his little retreat at Gorhambury, made small account of impressing his mind upon his living countrymen; his eye rested upon Europe and posterity. The fate of Chaucer haunted him: he thought that modern languages would play the bankrupt with books, and that if he did not inshrine his thoughts in a dead language, his name would never travel abroad, and would positively die out among his own countrymen in the next generation. With the assistance of Herbert, Playfair, and some add of Ben Jonson, he gave his new treatise, together with his Essays and many of his minor pieces, a Latin dress; but on contrasting those works with the "Novum Organon," originally written by himself in Latin, it does not appear that he was much indebted to the attainments of his translators.

Bacon, though he followed the pursuits, had not learned to adopt the simple tastes of the philosopher. He gave up York House and its splendid luxuries with a pang, but retained the greater part of his retinue, and refused to allow one tree of the Gorhambury woods to be felled, even to satisfy the demands of his clamorous creditors. When urged to part with some of the more ostensible fineries of his household, "No," replied the philosopher, with indignation, "I will not be stripped of my feathers." He even entertained hopes of resuming his seat in the Lords, if not on the woolsack, and did not scruple, in his letters to James, to pervert history, with a view to establish similar cases of reintegration. "Demosthenes," says Bacon, in one of these communications, "was banished for bribery of the highest nature, yet was recalled with honour; Marcus Lucius was condemned for exactions, yet afterwards made consul and censor; Seneca was banished for divers corruptions, yet was afterwards restored, and an instrument in the memorable Quinquenium Neronis."

Williams, however, who had succeeded him as Lord Keeper, dreading the gigantic power of the suppliant in opposition, was not idle in multiplying reasons for allowing Bacon to decay among his books, and Buckingham had found agents quite as useful to his purpose as the philosopher of Gorhambury.

After the lapse of three or four years the public feeling against Bacon subsided, and his works had made so favourable an impression upon all classes of society, that the king thought he might with safety cancel the remaining portion of his sentence, and again open to him the avenues of public life. He requited this favour by writing two party pamphlets for the royal favourite, Buckingham, one entitled "Some Considerations touching a War with Spain," in which Bacon strives to excite the nation to make an unjustifiable attack upon an unoffending ally; the other,

called "An Advertisement touching an Holy War," was neither more nor less than a dialogue on the lawfulness of propagating religion by the sword. The king certainly had his hands full in trying to extirpate heresies, reconcile schisms, and reform manners; but our author was inclined to think a war might be undertaken at the same time.

Had nature not interposed, but left the actors to perform their several parts with the same vigour, there is little doubt that Bacon would have climbed back to the woolsack. But a year sufficed to push James off the scene, and when parliament met to hail the advent of a new monarch, Bacon was too enfeebled by premature decay to attend the royal summons. About sixteen months before, when able to tread with firm step the avenues of the court, a writ requesting his attendance in the upper house, to consult *circa ardua regni*, would have revived his declining spirits. Now, no longer capable of playing a part, he flung the document with an air of contempt on his table, exclaiming, "I have done with such vanities." He survived the king only one year; but true to his beloved restoration of the sciences, he continued to the end to devote every moment rescued from positive sickness to the elaboration of the structure. With remarkable economy of time, he reserved the easiest portion of his labour for the employment of his latter days, and died in its execution. As the collection of mere empirical facts, which form only the unfashioned materials of natural science, could bring him no honour, the toil of his closing years must be regarded as the offspring of pure benevolence. The dry collocation of a heap of phenomena could not but be distasteful to a scholar, but all who presented themselves to build up the sciences aspired to be architects; and Bacon said the work could not advance unless some consented to become the stonemasons of the rest. With the true humility of greatness he descended to the task, and sacrificed his own importance for the welfare of his species. It struck him, when examining the subject of antiseptics, that snow might preserve flesh from corruption, and he resolved to try the experiment. One frosty morning, in the spring of 1626, he alighted at Highgate, and proceeded to stuff a fowl which he had bought at a neighbouring cottage, with snow that he gathered from the ground. At the end of the operation he felt in his limbs a sudden chill, and was obliged to retire to the earl of Arundel's house hard by, where he met with nourishing cordials, dutiful attendants, and a damp bed. The last few lines he scrawled were directed to the owner of the mansion, whose incautions hospitality hastened his end, in which he compares himself to the elder Pliny, who lost his life in exploring the mouth of Vesuvius, and describes the experiment as succeeding "excellently well," which caused his death. A fever imme-

diately ensued, attended with a defluxion in the breast. He lingered only a week, expiring on the morning of Easter-day in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

He was buried in St. Michael's church, St. Albans, by the side of his mother. A monument was soon after erected to his memory by his secretary, Sir Thomas Meantys, which represents him in a sitting posture, with an inscription, which strangely parodies the sublime opening of the instauration, "Franciscus Bacon, Baro de Verulam, St. Albani Viccomes. . . . Sic sedebat." A stranger standing over the grave of the great regenerator of physical science, might fairly expect to be entertained with something better than a pun upon one of the most striking passages in his writings.

His wife, who brought him no issue, died in 1646; a divorce had separated them since his fall.

Though Bacon was constantly attended by a chaplain and a secretary, who appear to have been fully impressed with his intellectual greatness, no chronicle has come down to us either of his private habits, his ingenious sayings, or his social virtues. Rawley has indeed written a vague panegyric, which he called a life, but the colour is so indiscriminately laid on, and some of the incidents so perverted, that doubt may be entertained as to the fidelity of even the leading features. Bacon was invested with mighty intellectual endowments, which struggled to find vent as much by impressing themselves on his own age as by overturning the philosophical systems of antiquity. His mind was pre-eminently of a strong objective character, could see nothing except through the senses, and was disposed with his age, which had given to spiritual supremacy a second fall, to undervalue everything which did not contribute to physical enjoyment or tangible glory. The same impulse which led him to build up the natural sciences on their true foundations, led him also to mistake the false glitter of the world for something real, and to think that his elevation could not be complete, unless the baubles of state were as much at his command as the laws of nature. It is true that the condition of the times offer some excuse for him; and his legal treatises, the settlement of the law of real property, his attempts at law reform, and many of his judicial and political acts, show a nature naturally obeying the impulse of reason and conscience; while the unimpeachable blamelessness of his private life, and the calm earnestness of his moral lessons, prove that he only needed a purer atmosphere, and more civilized times, to act with all the dignity of the sage, and speak with the unadulterated eloquence of an Augustan classic.

It is one of the most striking proofs of the original goodness of Bacon's nature, that he never tyrannised over his inferiors,

or treated them unkindly; nor did he allow his severe habits of study, or even his reverses, to sour his disposition. His nature was abhorrent of avarice, the most degrading of human passions. He enriched himself only to lavish his bounties on others, and to invest his household with an air of splendid magnificence. Selfish distinctions of *meum* and *tuum*, so jealously observed by little minds, were hardly impressed upon his noble nature, and he showed as much readiness to dispense gifts as to accept them. With him splendour did not extend to luxurious gratification, or unfit him for acts of benevolence. At table he was exceedingly temperate, and satisfied himself with the simplest food. The needy never left his mansion unrelieved, and his purse was ever open to promote the charitable objects of the benevolent. It is impossible that such a character should not make us forget his vices, and pay tribute to his virtues, as well as his genius.

Of his habits of study we know nothing, except that they were severe. All the long vacations, and such hours as he at other times could steal from his official labours, were passed with his books; and there is little doubt that he made notes of everything important that he read, and distributed his papers under the several heads of human knowledge. No author, however, was less indebted to books for his general views than Bacon, and he seems rather to have turned them over as models of style, and as affording materials for illustration, than to instruct himself. If we were asked to adduce any didactic author, whose thoughts sprang directly out of his own intellect, we should instance Lord Bacon. Of the ancients, Tacitus appears to have been his favourite, and the frequent perusal of that author has left its marks in the laconic terseness of his style and his lucid glimpses into human nature: he was not a strong Grecian, and considerable doubt may be entertained whether he read any book in that language after quitting the university. All his citations from the Attic writers are from the Latin text, except one solitary line of Homer.

Bacon was regarded as one of the foremost writers and speakers of his day, and both friends and enemies have left unqualified testimony of his varied abilities. Raleigh, who was no mean judge, characterized Lord Salisbury as a great speaker but a bad writer, Lord Northampton as a great writer but a bad speaker, but Lord Bacon as excelling equally in speaking and writing. Ben Jonson, after sketching the features of a perfect orator, applies them to Bacon; but his colours are no doubt heightened by the warmth of personal friendship. His fame had gained him friends in foreign parts, and many distinguished strangers paid personal homage to him as a philosopher. When the Marquis d'Effiat brought into England the Princess Henrietta Maria, wife to Charles I., he went to visit Bacon,

who, being in bed, received him with the curtains drawn: "You resemble the angels," said the minister to the philosopher; "we hear those beings continually talked of, we believe them superior to mankind, and we never have the consolation to see them." Much of his contemporaneous fame, however, is to be ascribed to his public position, which first drew the attention of a frivolous age to his works. Had he not inhabited a princely mansion in the Strand, and kept a plentiful table at Gorhambury, Ben Jonson, instead of lauding him, might have censured with Hume, and Hobbes have been as niggardly of praise as Bayle. It was the possession of the great seal that made it fashionable to read what few could understand, pushed his works into circulation during an unlettered age, and gave him Europe for an auditory.

All his thoughts were engrossed by pursuits, the glory and advantage of which were to be reaped when he was in his grave. To carry his plans to as high a state of perfection as was compatible with the shortness of human life, he denied himself the relaxation afforded by social pleasures, and came only at intervals into the arena of ordinary life. His constitution, originally delicate, was rendered still more so by study, and during sudden changes of the atmosphere, he became affected with extreme dizziness, which often caused him to swoon. This gave rise to his chaplain's astrological fiction that he was seized with a sudden fainting fit, at every eclipse of the moon. He imagined that he could add many years to his life by systematic doses of nitre, and took about three grains in weak broth every morning for thirty years. He also placed great faith in the efficacy of macerated rhubarb, to carry off the grosser humours of the body without the inconveniences of perspiration, and swallowed an occasional draught before his meals. In his youth, his appearance is said to have been singularly frank and engaging, but his features were much furrowed and darkened by the contests of political life, and the misfortunes of his later years. His severe habits of study early impressed upon him the marks of age, bent his shoulders, and gave him the stooping gait of a philosopher. His stature was of the middle size, with features rather oblong than round. His forehead was spacious and open, his eye lively and penetrating, and his whole aspect venerably pleasing; so that the beholder was insensibly drawn to love, before he knew how much reason there was to admire him. In this respect we may apply to him what Tacitus says of Agricola, "Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter."

The characteristics of the Baconian philosophy are the introduction of the empiric element into every department of science, the stripping it of that crudeness which had previously rendered it repulsive, and investing it with those scientific views

and methods which enable it to reveal the structure of the moral, social, and physical world, and the springs by which their several phenomena are produced; and the application of this knowledge to the increase of human enjoyment and perfectibility. Bacon's mind was strongly objective, and the first exercise of its powers appears directed to seize with tenacity on external facts, and from the appearances which they presented, without any reference to the innate faculties, to reason out the laws which controlled or produced them. He saw nature and society in a perpetual flow about him,—states falling and rising, —new languages growing in refinement,—old dropping into desuetude,—fashions and manners changing with governments, and new feelings and sensibilities clinging round the advent of a new creed. The world of nature presented to his mind phenomena as striking as the world of man. The change of the seasons, the tides of the ocean, the alternation of day and night, the motion of the planets, the perpetual renovation and decay of species, and the diversified combination of different substances and qualities, were all mysteries which he was as anxious to unveil as the phenomena of society, but to none of which the ancient philosophies presented him with any direct solution. No one had previously attempted from a comparison of the effects of different governments, or of different courses of training, to conclude what system of law or education was the most adapted to perfect society, and to lead man's nature to its highest development. No one before Bacon had asked himself by what process has civilization attained its present aspect, what are the elements that enter into its structure, how can the good be fostered, and the bad eliminated; or had attempted to evolve from these speculations the general principles that conspire to work the decline or the renovation of nations. The empiric element had been almost as completely abandoned in the field of nature. Aristotle appears to have been the only Greek philosopher that troubled himself about collecting facts, and making them the basis of his physical inquiries. Yet his rationalistic bias prevented him from exercising the patient scrutiny necessary to embody their real properties in language, and pursuing, without the admission of any adventitious element, the trains of inference which their action involved. Some of the ancient physicists had condescended in astronomical researches to regard facts, and were rewarded for their pains with some glimpses of the Newtonian theory of the heavens; but in the general departments of physical science men rushed up to abstract principles, seeking, by *à priori* deductions, without any reference to tangible phenomena, to construct all the furniture of the universe. Bacon was the first to point out effectively the futility of these attempts to limit man's efforts in physical inquiry to the confines of nature, the first to assert

the glorious principle, that knowledge must be synonymous with power. The immortal aphorism, *Homo naturæ minister et interpres*, with which he opens the "Novum Organon," is the epitome of his views, and at one stroke disposes of all the cosmogonies and contentions of the ancients.

Bacon looked into nature with the same spirit he was disposed to investigate everything else, and which, to us who have been brought up under the light that his system has shed upon the world, it appears incredible that any man should have mistaken. What, he inquired, is the present organization of substances? how far do they invade each other's confines? by what process do they reach the successive stages of growth and decay? seeking to evolve by the rigid pursuit of such inquiries, their constituent elements, and the general laws by which they are regulated and controlled. Hence the three great centres round which his inquiries revolved in every investigation were the latent structure (*latens schematismus*), or the secret organization of the parts which mould and determine its appearance: and the latent process (*latens processus ad formam*), or the changes which occur in their parts, simultaneous with renovation and decay; and the forms, or the simple constituents, involved in the production of the phenomena, and the laws which regulate their action. Bacon's idea of the powers which the result of such pursuits would confer upon man, were of the most sanguine description, and in some respects have been fully accomplished. To the application of his method to physiology we owe those sanitary measures which have put society as far out of the reach of plague, as gunpowder has placed it beyond the assault of savages. A thousand diseases, before deemed incurable, have been prevented, mitigated, or stayed; the body fortified against physical waste and consumption of strength, and human life prolonged. By examining nature in the manner he pointed out, we have made the ocean reveal the secret of its motions, the planets expound the forces which retain them in their orbits, the rainbow declare the laws of its formation, and the comets announce the periods of their return. From the facts we have obtained through his instrumentality, we can weigh the sun and moon as in a balance, compute their respective distances to the greatest nicety, estimate the speed with which they and all the planets revolve, and correctly ascertain the time which an atom of matter, or a ray of light, falling from their surface, will reach our earth. If the inhabitants of Jupiter are similarly circumstanced to ourselves, but have had no Bacon among them, it is very possible we know more about the fluctuations of their atmosphere, and the motion of their satellites, than they know themselves. Directed by the spirit of his method, we transmit thought across seas and continents with the same speed and facility that

we communicate it by speech; we sail against wind and tide, and rush through the air with the velocity of an arrow. We can soar with the bird to the skies, or explore with fish the bottom of the ocean; we can conduct the lightning innocuous to the ground, and arrest the progress of the watery column on the wave!

But splendid as have been the results of his method, Bacon, if alive now, would only consider these as gleams of the dawn of that day whose bright effulgence he had anticipated. To obtain a knowledge of the laws of nature which should enable men to overcome natural obstacles, and annihilate time and space, may fairly be deemed insignificant to him who sought to fathom the entire process of her changes, and to make her render up all her secrets, that he might reverse the order and the times of her productions; perform that frequently which she performs rarely; accomplish with few things what she produces with many; crowd into one spot the productions of different climates and nations, and effect in a moment the transmutations of seasons and ages. He viewed nature much in the same light as Pythagoras, and the exposition of the doctrine of the Samian in the last book of the Metamorphoses does not transcend Bacon's belief in the flux of physical nature.

> "Nec species sua cuique manet: Rerumque novatrix
> Ex aliis alias reparat natura figuras.
> Nec perit in tanto quicquam (mihi credite) mundo,
> Sed variat, faciemque novat: nascique vocatur
> Incipere esse aliud, quam quod fuit ante: morique,
> Desinere illud idem: cum sint huc forsitan illa,
> Hæc translata illuc, summa tamen omnia constant."
> Ovid, Metam. lib. xv. 252 9.

If he knew and could command the constituent elements by which such transformations were produced, as his forms imported, he might fairly rival the divinities of Ovid in power over external nature. He could not see why, by availing himself of such knowledge he should not eliminate the old nature of any body, and invest it with new; why he should not transmute glass into stone, bones into earth, leaves into wood, invest tin with all the properties of gold, and charcoal with the qualities of the diamond.* To avert summer droughts or autumnal rains were

* *e. g.* "Si quis argento cupiat superinducere flavum colorem auri, aut augmentum ponderis (servatis legibus materiæ) aut lapidi alicui non diaphano diaphancitatem aut vitris tenacitatem, aut corpori alicui non vegitabili vegitationem; videndum est, quale quis preceptum aut deductionem potissimum sibi dari exoptet." He then proceeds to give the rules of this transmutation:—"Primum intuetur corpus, ut turmam sive conjugationem naturarum simplicium, ut in auro hæc convenirent; quod sit flavum; quod sit ponderosum, ad pondus tale; quod sit malleabile aut ductile, ad extensionem talem; quod non fiat volatile, nec deperdat de quanto suo per ignem; quod fluat fluore tali; quod separetur et solvatur modis

trifles with Bacon. He sought to hurl the thunderbolt with Jupiter, to command the storm with Juno, to create heat and manufacture metals with Vulcan, to pour golden fruits on the earth with Ceres, and arrest the plague with Apollo. All those powers, the exercise of any one of which the ancients thought sufficient to occupy the life of a deity, Bacon sought to unite in his single grasp, and bend to the iron mandate of his will.* We were to have spring fruits and autumnal blossoms, December roses and June icicles. The wines of Picardy were to be manufactured in the cellars of London, and the aromatic odours of the south regale the drawing-rooms of St. James. Nature was to be startled with the production of new species of plants and beasts, Rich harvests to spring up without seed; and the creation of beasts, birds, and fish, even out of the earth's slime, to crown the triumph of man.

It is needless to say that were such results achieved, man would be a god upon earth, and nothing could be wanting to paradisal felicity but the gift of immortality. Could man claim every element as his own,—sport in the deep like a nereid, and explore the heavens like a bird; could he direct the lightning and the shower, call up the winds, and awaken the storm at his pleasure; could he arrest blight and disease, and command harvests and fruits to spring out of the earth where, when, and how he pleased; such a thing as social misery could not exist, and the only limit to human power and enjoyment would simply be the restrictive law designed to mark out the boundaries of individual action, and make the liberty of the one consistent with the happiness of the many. That we shall arrive at such a golden period is the opinion of many; that we are progressing in the direction of some of its landmarks, cannot be denied by any one who contrasts the state of physical science in the present century, with its low condition in Bacon's time. We see no reason why he who can control the thunderbolt, should not direct the cloud where to discharge its treasures; why the mind which has unlocked the arcana of the heavens should not wring from the earth some of its latent secrets; why he who explores the air in a frail parachute, should not exchange his paper boat for wings, and tread with the eagle the blue vault of heaven. At least such achievements seem less visionary to us

talibus; et similiter de cæteris naturis quæ in auro concurrunt. Itaque hujusmodi axioma rem deducit ex formis naturarum simplicium. Nam qui formas et modos novit superinducendi flavi, ponderis, ductilis, fixi, fluoris, solutionem, et sic de reliquis et eorum graduationes et modos; videbit et curabit, ut ista confungi possint in aliquo corpore, unde se quater transformatio in aurum."—Nov. Org. ii. 4 and 5.

* For a corroboration of these views we refer the reader, once for all, to Bacon's own statement in the description of Solomon's house, at the end of the New Atlantis.

than the triumphs of the present age would have been regarded by a very recent ancestry. Had a denizen even of the eighteenth century been asked whether it was more likely that steam-carriages should be invented than that man should fly, he would undoubtedly have pronounced for the wings. It seems far more practicable to soar above seas and continents, than to sail against wind and tide, or to make mere vapour transport vast crowds through space with the speed of a bird. Sage men may regard the transmutation of metals as the dreams of idle alchemists; but how would the philosophers of the last generation have scouted the man who promised to turn old rags into sugar, starch into honey, and sawdust into a substitute for flour. We are surrounded with a world of phenomena, forming the distinct sciences unknown in Bacon's day, which only await a philosopher who will investigate them in his spirit, to render up a crowd of facts which will work as great a revolution in society as the modern achievements of chemistry and mechanics. Electricity, magnetism, and galvanism are to us precisely what optics and astronomy were to Bacon; and we doubt not that, as these phenomena relate more particularly to terrestrial objects, they are big with results destined to enlarge man's power over nature, and to lay bare many secrets which veil the confines of the spiritual world. When we survey the discoveries of the last two centuries, we certainly have no reason to complain of the slowness of the progress, or, to despair with the Greeks and Romans, of further advance, and retrace our steps to avoid the languor of monotony.* The new acquisitions in knowledge and power over nature, exceed each other in importance: classes of empirical facts are gradually raising the subjects they involve to the rank of exact sciences; and as these are perfected by the restless tide of human reason, other phenomena of a more startling character succeed. The law of the Baconian physics is progress. The goal of one generation becomes the starting-post of the next: what is wondered at as the witchcraft of to-day, becomes the craft and profession of to-morrow.

Bacon no doubt intended, as his words import, to investigate the moral sciences in a similar spirit, but he seems to have been impressed with too gloomy an idea of the depravity of the will to indulge in glowing pictures of social felicity. Of course the only state of society that could bear any contrast to the results of physical inquiries pursued after his method, would be a charming millennium, in which every community moved under the impulse of reason and justice, and each of their component mem-

* Paterculus, speaking of the old civilization, says:—Quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in summum, difficilisque in perfecto mora est; and then concludes, that society seeing further advance impossible, fell into dissoluteness.

bers possessed the sanctuary of the heart undefiled, and a breast glowing with in-born honour.

Bacon held forth no such prospects. He had only to look within to be convinced of the delusion. Even with regard to what Comte calls sociology, it is not probable that the completest knowledge of the different processes involved in the production of individual stages of civilization, or in the generation of the various phases of mental growth, could have invested man with any other power than that of removing obstacles to the regular development of his social endowments. There are some things which time and a disciplined train of habits and customs only can accomplish. A nation is not rendered martial or commercial in an age, though it know all the steps, and have at its disposition all the means that concur to the adoption of that character. Chaucer could trace the gradations through which the ancient languages passed from barbarism to elegance, without being able to improve his own. If we knew the process involved in the generation of every link of mental capacity, from a child speculating on bubbles to a Newton weighing worlds, the result could invest us with no other power than that of assisting nature by an adequate system of education. In casting the horoscope of the future, or tracing with certain hand the progress of civilization, who shall account for the appearance of such men as Dante and Shakespeare, who have created a language; of Cromwell and Luther, who have revolutionized empires; of Newton and Archimedes, who have introduced a new element into science.

Bacon thought his method quite as applicable to the phenomena of the social world as to physical nature, and determined to apply it to every subject which fell under his consideration. The empiric element had been totally neglected by the Greek sages, who found the world too young to give them facts in sufficient abundance to invest them with a scientific character. Bacon's penetrating mind saw at a glance the lacunes which had been left in learning through the neglect of this essential constituent of all knowledge; and deeming their existence rendered the entire fabric insecure, resolved on a grand restoration of all the sciences.

The plan of his INSTAURATIO MAGNA was on a scale of epic grandeur. The creative fancy of Dante or Milton never called up more gorgeous images than those suggested by Bacon's design, and we question much whether their worlds surpass his in affording scope for the imagination. His view extended over all time; penetrated into the circumstances under which each science had arisen, and the motives for which it was pursued; traced the illusions which had led the greatest intellects to misinterpret the facts which nature put into their hands; and distinctly saw the

action of the causes which had rendered physical inquiries stationary and unproductive, and the moral sciences incomplete. With the wand of a superior intelligence, he pointed out the boundaries of human knowledge; mapped out and circumambulated its different provinces; crumbled into dust the fragile systems which reason had erected on false foundations; showed what part of its labours might stand after the rubbish had been cleared away; and put into the hands of the human race the only method by which they could build themselves an abiding habitation.* His mind brooded over all nature, and making her tripartite kingdom tributary to the undertaking, opened the only quarries whence the materials for the reconstruction of the physical sciences, decayed and corroded to the foundations, could be drawn.† He next designed to exhibit all the laws and methods of inference employed in the production of real knowledge; and erect the intricate scaffolding by means of which every science might be raised from the foundations of empiricism. From the basis of particulars, the mind was to be carried up to intermediary axioms, and thence to universal laws, which were to comprehend in their statement every subordinate degree of generality, and to unfold to the gaze of the spectator the order of the universe, as exhibited to angelic intelligences. From this, the highest platform of human vision, the mind might dart its glance through the corresponding series of inverted reasonings from generals to particulars, by which these laws and axioms are traced back to their remote consequences, and all particular propositions deduced from them,—as well those by whose immediate consideration it rose to its elevation as those of which it had no previous knowledge.‡ Then were to arise the stately temples of science, with their proud parapets and decorated pediments, in all their breadth of light and harmony of proportion, revealing the glories of the universe to man amidst long vistas of receding columns, and glimpses of internal splendour!§

* The two first parts of the Instauratio Magna, viz. the partition of the sciences, and the Novum Organon.

† The third part, Sylva Sylvarum, or Natural History.

‡ The fourth part of the Instauration, Scala Intellectus, or ladder of the understanding, which he did not live to execute.

§ The fifth and sixth part, Prodromi, or Anticipations of the Second Philosophy; and Scientia Activa, or the Second Philosophy itself. The sciences are destined to undergo constant enlargement, as new phenomena perpetually present themselves for elaboration. Bacon calls these new additions, while in an unfinished state, prodromi, or anticipations of the second philosophy. The primary philosophy he designed to consist of a series of general principles, which are comprised in the action of the universal laws. Thus, the dicta *de omni et nullo* and "two things which are equal to a third thing, are equal to each other," being involved in the inferences of logic and geometry, would form a part of the primary philosophy.

Such was the glorious vision which Bacon saw in prospect, and in part laboured to realize. If on descending into a minute survey of his views, some false notions, and crude generalizations present themselves, we must remember the age in which he lived, and find an excuse for him in the almost superhuman obstacles which then obstructed the march of the physical sciences. Society in the sixteenth century was but slowly emerging from civil barbarism: human reason, for two thousand years, had been pent up within the region of ethics and school-divinity; and the first men who had ventured to lead it out into the broad field of nature, were either imprisoned for heresy or burnt for witchcraft. Ramus expiated his opposition to Aristotle with his blood. Vanini and Giordano Bruno were burnt as atheists. Telesius and Campanella were hunted about from city to city like wild beasts; Galileo was imprisoned by the Inquisition at Rome, and Descartes persecuted by the Protestant tribunals of Holland.* Every attempt to advance the Aristotelian physics which had remained stationary since the days of the Lyceum, had ended on every side in expatriation, imprisonment, or death. It was an age of violent fluctuation and change. The struggle waged between the two philosophies was, to a great degree, embittered by the strife between the two creeds; reason and faith alternately invaded each other's province, and the voice of truth was lost in the clamour of their followers. The modern languages, occupying a transitory position between barbarism and refinement, reflected the turbulent features of the times, and defeated every attempt at subtile reasoning or refined analysis in which they became the instrument. The stream of learning which the recent sacking of Constantinople had suddenly turned upon Europe, perplexed and bewildered men's minds, unfixing, like a gush of light suddenly let in upon a darkened vision, the true relations of things, and investing shadows with the appearance of realities. The human soul was stirred from its depths. Men suddenly found themselves in the midst of treasures, which, however they might admire, they were unable to appreciate; and the anomalous position awakened new trains of thought, for which their language afforded no adequate expression. If the wisest of mortals should lay the foundations of a new philosophy during such a disturbed epoch, it would be but denying

* We do not agree with the cant that represents the former of these as martyrs to philosophy. They did not content themselves with reforming science, but supposing that the social and ecclesiastical institutions of the epoch stood in need of like service, began to assail princes and bishops with the same virulence as Aristotle and the schoolmen. These dignitaries, in answering their logic by another kind of weapon, were simply providing for their own safety and the general peace of their subjects.

him attributes above humanity, to ascribe to his work the defects of his situation.

The *Instauratio Magna*, it must be admitted, is deficient in method. Bacon could not penetrate at once to the essential attributes of things, and divide them according to their distinguishing difference. It does not appear to have occurred to him that in the production of every creation of intellect, memory, imagination, and reason harmoniously concur, and that it is impossible to achieve the slightest triumph of genius without calling into simultaneous action the agency of these faculties, and blending their variegated resources in the elaboration of thought. Memory and reason are the woof and the warp of the intellectual tissue; and no such thing as consecutive judgment can be produced if they perform their functions apart, and refuse to interlace their resources. Of course each of the triune faculties will more or less preponderate according to the nature of the subject in which they are engaged. Imagination plays an inferior part to memory in the historian, as reason to imagination in the philosopher, but still in due subordination to the severe canons of judgment which sits as the controlling umpire in every grand operation of genius. Imagination may be more exercised by the poet who creates, than by the historian who narrates; but the thought will not be entertained for a moment, that memory is the presiding faculty in the historian, and imagination in the fabulist. In proportion as men are endowed with these faculties, they require the augmentation of the power, which weighs and balances facts, refines images, and gives to the shadows which their memory or fancy calls up, a graphic and life-breathing motion. If all the ordinary men of our day were provided with prodigious memories, without any increase of the rationalistic faculty, the number of diners-out with a ready stock of composed matter on subjects political, religious, scientific, and legendary, might be increased, but history could not be benefited by the addition of a single page worth the reading. Men would become so many parrots; the world would certainly retrograde, and the rationalistic element, which now tolerably manages to keep up with every man's accumulation of facts, would be entirely overpowered by a deluge of useless particularities. Imagination stands in the same relation to the poet as memory to the historian; and if all men were blessed with the command of ideality which Dante and Milton enjoyed, without a proportionate influx of judgment and memory, we might have an endless flood of legends, but not one epic. So strict is the union of these three powers, even in productions of opposite tendencies, that it may be doubted whether imagination is not as necessary to the geometrician who invents, as to the poet who creates; and whether memory may

not play a more distinguished part in the productions of the philosopher than of the historian.

The human mind for nearly two thousand years, had been lulled into an entire forgetfulness of objective facts, during all that period regarding the Aristotelian physics as the highest fruits that reason could reap from scientific inquiry; and it required a man of Bacon's breadth of capacity and spirit-stirring eloquence, to throw all the energy of his nature into the opposite element, and by showing how the splendid treasures it contained might be reaped, and the errors of the Greeks retrieved, to awaken the world from its slumbers, and set it on the road of physical discovery. If his nomenclature was logically incorrect, the empirical views out of which it arose gave men's minds, perverted by speculative reasoning, a strong objective bent. If his scientific method was defective, it led men to abandon pure rationalistic inquiry, which had produced all the fruit it was capable of yielding, and to explore the fields of nature, where treasures undreamt of lay concealed. If he placed the end of philosophy in the discovery of visionary and chimerical objects, the pursuit led men to the detection of the laws of phenomena, which has already tripled man's power over nature, and enriched the intellect with the possession of a new world.—Science can afford to overlook errors which balanced the one-sided tendencies of the human mind, turned the vessel aside from a barren coast, and shot it right into the harbour of discovery. The triumph to which his spirit led, rectified the mistakes with which it was accompanied, and left mankind nothing to gather from the mine of nature which he opened, but the pure ore of truth. His fervent appeals still thunder in the ear of every generation, irrespective of creed or nation; while the trains of light which they leave behind them stimulate every succeeding race to renewed efforts in the path of discovery. The human mind had never been so profoundly stirred since the times of Archimedes and Aristotle, as on the day when this mighty magician spake: the wheels of science, which had stood still for two thousand years, impelled by his breath, began to move, and the spirit of Europe was evoked on all sides to impart to them accelerated velocity. Pascal and Torricelli, guided by his rules, established the properties of air, and Newton, in the spirit of his method, and directed by his hints, threw back the curtain of the heavens, revealed the laws of light, explained the phenomena of the tides, and peopled space with worlds! Nurtured in his school, Boyle transformed hydrostatics from a loose assemblage of facts into a deductive science: Watt constructed the steam-engine, which has annihilated space and economized the labour of millions; and Franklin rivalled the glories of the ancient Prometheus, in snatching the electric fire

from heaven! Human reason, unshackled and independent, took her bent from his hands; and learned societies in every part of Europe,—on the banks of the Wolga, the Po, and the Danube,—either rose up at his name, or reconstructed their plans after his direction. The collective wits of the brightest of European nations,—as little inclined as the Greeks to look out of themselves for excellencies,—have paid homage to him as the Solon of modern science, and founded upon his partition of the sciences an encyclopedia,* which was once the marvel and the glory of literature. The tribes of every age and nation regard the father of modern philosophy with the reverence and devotion of children; and so loud and universal has been the acclaim, that the testimony of our own epoch falls on the ear like the voice of a child closing the shout of a multitude. He has established a school in metaphysics, which, whatever may be its defects, keeps alive a due attention to facts in a science where they are too apt to be neglected; while nearly all the practical improvements introduced into education, statesmanship, and social policy, may be traced in a great degree to the philosophic tone he gave to the introduction of the same element. The politicians and legists, as well as philosophers, moulded by his councils, have placed themselves at the head of their respective sciences in Europe; and the pedantic tyrants and corrupt ministers, before whom he crouched, have been removed by the works which they patronized, and a monarchy rendered impossible, otherwise than as the personification of the organized will and reason of the nation. The splendid fanes of science, which he only saw in vision, are rising on every side, and from their lofty cupolas man may already catch glimpses of the internal splendour of the universe; and winding round their turrets, the *scala intellectus* extends its steps to the skies, and enables men to carry the rule and compass to the boundaries of Creation! Perfected by such triumphs, and fitted to embrace the complete expansion of natural, moral, and intellectual science, the human mind may expect to trace their mutual blendings and intricate ramifications, and behold the day when "Truth, though now hewn, like the mangled body of Osiris, into a thousand pieces, and scattered to the four winds of heaven, shall be gathered limb to limb, and moulded with every joint and member into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."

* The great French Encyclopædia, edited by Diderot and D'Alembert, was arranged upon his scheme of the sciences.

ESSAYS.

I.—OF TRUTH.

WHAT is truth? said jesting Pilate;[a] and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools[b] of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies; where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masks, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that showeth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that showeth

[a] He refers to the following passage in the Gospel of St. John, xviii. 38: "Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all."

[b] He probably refers to the "New Academy," a sect of Greek philosophers, one of whose moot questions was, "What is truth?" Upon which they came to the unsatisfactory conclusion that mankind has no criterion by which to form a judgment.

best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy "vinum dæmonum,"[c] because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth, that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense:[d] the last was the light of reason:[e] and his sabbath work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet[f] that beautified the sect,[g] that was otherwise inferior to

[c] "The wine of evil spirits."

[d] Genesis i. 3: "And God said, Let there be light, and there was light."

[e] At the moment when "The Lord God formed man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life: and man became a living soul."—Genesis ii. 7.

[f] Lucretius, the Roman poet and Epicurean philosopher, is alluded to.

[g] He refers to the sect which followed the doctrines of Epicurus. The life of Epicurus himself was pure and abstemious in the extreme. One of his leading tenets was that the aim of all speculation should be to enable men to judge with certainty what course is to be chosen in order to secure health of body and tranquillity of mind. The adoption, however, of the term "pleasure," as denoting this object, has at all periods subjected the Epicurean system to great reproach; which, in fact, is due rather to the conduct of many who, for their own purposes, have taken shelter under the system in name only, than to the tenets themselves, which did not inculcate libertinism. Epicurus admitted the existence of the Gods, but he deprived them of the characteristics of Divinity either as creators or preservers of the world.

the rest, saith yet excellently well :—"It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea : a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below : but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth" (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), "and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below :"[h] so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business ; it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent ; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne[i] saith prettily, when

[h] Lord Bacon has either translated this passage of Lucretius from memory, or has purposely paraphrased it. The following is the literal translation of the original : "'Tis a pleasant thing, from the shore, to behold the dangers of another upon the mighty ocean, when the winds are lashing the main : not because it is a grateful pleasure for any one to be in misery, but because it is a pleasant thing to see those misfortunes from which you yourself are free : 'tis also a pleasant thing to behold the mighty contests of warfare, arrayed upon the plains, without a share in the danger : but nothing is there more delightful than to occupy the elevated temples of the wise, well fortified by tranquil learning, whence you may be able to look down upon others, and see them straying in every direction, and wandering in search of the path of life."

[i] Michael de Montaigne, the celebrated French Essayist. His Essays embrace a variety of topics, which are treated in a sprightly and entertaining manner, and are replete with remarks indicative of strong native good sense. He died in 1592. The following quotation is from the second book of the Essays, c. 18 :—"Lying is a disgraceful vice, and one that *Plutarch*, an ancient writer, paints in most disgraceful colours, when he says that it is 'affording testimony that one *first* despises God, and then fears men ;' it is not possible more happily to describe its horrible, disgusting, and abandoned nature ; for can we

he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, saith he, "If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man;" surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold, that, when "Christ cometh," he shall not "find faith upon the earth."[a]

II.—OF DEATH.[a]

MEN fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured; and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, "Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa."[b] Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks[c] and

imagine anything more vile than to be cowards with regard to men, and brave with regard to God?"

[a] St. Luke xviii. 8: "Nevertheless, when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith upon the earth?"

[a] A portion of this Essay is borrowed from the writings of Seneca. See his Letters to Lucilius, B. iv. Ep. 24 and 82.

[b] "The array of the death-bed has more terrors than death itself." This quotation is from Seneca.

[c] He probably alludes to the custom of hanging the room in black

obsequies, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and satiety: "Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest."[d] A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make: for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment; "Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale."[e] Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, "Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:"[f] Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool,[g] "Ut puto Deus fio:"[h] Galba with a sentence, "Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani,"[i] holding forth his neck; Septimus Severus in dispatch, "Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum,"[k] and the like. Certainly the Stoics[l] bestowed too much cost upon

where the body of the deceased lay, a practice much more usual in Bacon's time than at the present day.

[d] "Reflect how often you do the same things; a man may wish to die, not only because either he is brave or wretched, but even because he is surfeited with life."

[e] "Livia, mindful of our union, live on, and fare thee well."

[f] "His bodily strength and vitality were now forsaking Tiberius, but not his duplicity."

[g] This was said as a reproof to his flatterers, and in spirit is not unlike the rebuke administered by Canute to his retinue.

[h] "I am become a Divinity, I suppose."

[i] "If it be for the advantage of the Roman people, strike."

[k] "If aught remains to be done by me, dispatch."

These were the followers of Zeno, a philosopher of Citium, in Cyprus, who founded the Stoic school, or "School of the Portico," at Athens. The basis of his doctrines was the duty of making virtue the

death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, "qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponit naturæ."[m] It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death; but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is "Nunc dimittis,"[n] when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: "Extinctus amabitur idem."[o]

III.—OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and

object of all our researches. According to him, the pleasures of the mind were preferable to those of the body, and his disciples were taught to view with indifference health or sickness, riches or poverty, pain or pleasure.

[m] "Who reckons the close of his life among the boons of nature.' Lord Bacon here quotes from memory; the passage is in the tenth Satire of Juvenal, and runs thus:—

> "Fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem,
> Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
> Naturæ" ——

"Pray for strong resolve, void of the fear of death, that reckons the closing period of life among the boons of nature."

[n] He alludes to the song of Simeon, to whom the Holy Ghost had revealed "that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ." When he beheld the infant Jesus in the Temple, he took the child in his arms and burst forth into a song of thanksgiving, commencing, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."—St. Luke ii. 29.

[o] "When dead, the same person shall be beloved."

ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals: yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity: and therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, "Ecce in Deserto,"[a] another saith, "Ecce in penetralibus;"[b] that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, "nolite exire,"—"go not out." The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, "If a heathen[c] come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?" and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them "to sit down in the chair of the scorners."[d] It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity.

[a] "Behold, he is in the Desert."—St. Matthew xxiv. 26.

[b] "Behold, he is in the secret chambers."—St. Matthew xxiv. 26.

[c] He alludes to 1 Corinthians xiv. 23:—"If, therefore, the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?"

[d] Psalm i. 1. "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful."

There is a master of scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, "The Morris-Dance[e] of Heretics:" for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe, by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politicians, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bounds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu?"—"What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me."[f] Peace is not the matter, but following, and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans[g] and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrament between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof

[e] This dance, which was originally called the Morisco dance, is supposed to have been derived from the Moors of Spain; the dancers in earlier times blackening their faces to resemble Moors. It was probably a corruption of the ancient Pyrrhic dance, which was performed by men in armour, and which is mentioned as still existing in Greece, in Byron's "Song of the Greek Captive:"—

"You have the Pyrrhic dance as yet"——

Attitude and gesture formed one of the characteristics of the dance. It is still practised in some parts of England.

[f] 2 Kings ix. 18.

[g] He alludes to the words in Revelations, c. iii. v. 14, "And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write: These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God; I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I will spue thee out of my mouth." Laodicea was a city of Asia Minor. St. Paul established the church there which is here referred to.

soundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us, is against us;"[h] and again, "He that is not against us, is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, "Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours;" whereupon he saith, "In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit,"[i] they be two things, unity and uniformity; the other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment, which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same; "Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ."[k] Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms, so fixed as, whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one,

[h] St. Matthew xii. 30.

[i] "In the garment there may be many colours, but let there be no rending of it."

[k] "Avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called."—1 Tim. vi. 20.

when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image;[l] they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware that, in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword,[m] or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God; for this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

"Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."[n]

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France,[o] or the powder treason of England?[p] He would

[l] He alludes to the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, significant of the limited duration of his kingdom. See Daniel ii. 33, 41.

[m] Mahomet proselytized by giving to the nations which he conquered the option of the Koran or the sword.

[n] "To deeds so dreadful could religion prompt." The poet refers to the sacrifice by Agamemnon, the Grecian leader, of his daughter Iphigenia, with the view of appeasing the wrath of Diana.

[o] He alludes to the massacre of the Huguenots, or Protestants, in France, which took place on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572, by the order of Charles IX. and his mother, Catherine de Medici. On this occasion about 60,000 persons perished, including the Admiral De Coligny, one of the most virtuous men that France possessed, and the main stay of the Protestant cause.

[p] More generally known as "the Gunpowder Plot."

have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was; for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, "I will ascend and be like the Highest;" but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, "I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness:" and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins; therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod,[q] do damn, and send to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that council of the apostle would be prefixed, "Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei:"[r] and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

[q] Allusion is made to the "caduceus," with which Mercury, the messenger of the Gods, summoned the souls of the departed to the infernal regions.

[r] "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."—James i. 20.

IV.—OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am sure, saith, "It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence."[a] That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, Duke of Florence,[b] had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. "You shall read," saith he, "that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends." But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: "Shall we," saith he, "take good at God's hands, and not be

[a] These words as here quoted, are not to be found in the writings of Solomon, though doubtless the sentiment is.

[b] He alludes to Cosmo de Medici, or Cosmo I., chief of the Republic of Florence, the encourager of literature and the fine arts.

content to take evil also?"[c] and so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges[d] are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar;[e] for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third of France;[f] and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindictive persons live the life of witches: who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

V.—OF ADVERSITY.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that, "the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired." ("Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.") Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), "It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God." ("Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.") This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets,[a] which seemeth not to be without mystery;

[c] Job ii. 10—"Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?"

[d] By "public revenges," he means punishment awarded by the state with the sanction of the laws.

[e] He alludes to the retribution dealt by Augustus and Antony to the murderers of Julius Cæsar. It is related by ancient historians, as a singular fact, that not one of them died a natural death.

[f] Henry III. of France was assassinated in 1599, by Jacques Clement, a Jacobin monk, in the frenzy of fanaticism. Although Clement justly suffered punishment, the end of this bloodthirsty and bigoted tyrant may be justly deemed a retribution dealt by the hand of an offended Providence; so truly does the Poet say:—

—— "neque enim lex æquior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ."

Stesichorus, Apollodorus, and others. Lord Bacon makes a similar

nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, "that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher," lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs[b] as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.[c]

reference to this myth in his treatise "On the Wisdom of the Ancients." "It is added with great elegance, to console and strengthen the minds of men, that this mighty hero (Hercules) sailed in a cup or 'urceus,' in order that they may not too much fear and allege the narrowness of their nature and its frailty; as if it were not capable of such fortitude and constancy; of which very thing Seneca argued well, when he said, 'It is a great thing to have at the same time the frailty of a man, and the security of a God.'"

[b] Funereal airs. It must be remembered that many of the Psalms of David were written by him when persecuted by Saul, as also in the tribulation caused by the wicked conduct of his son Absalom. Some of them, too, though called "The Psalms of David," were really composed by the Jews in their captivity at Babylon; as, for instance, the 137th Psalm, which so beautifully commences, "By the waters of Babylon there we sat down." One of them is supposed to be the composition of Moses.

[c] This fine passage, beginning at "Prosperity is the blessing,"—which was not published till 1625, twenty-eight years after the first Essays, has been quoted by Macaulay, with considerable justice, as a proof that

VI.—OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, "Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius:" and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, "We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius." These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be showed at half-lights, and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler: for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly, by one that cannot well see. Certainly, the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self: the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy; when a

the writer's fancy did not decay with the advance of old age, and that his style in his later years became richer and softer. The learned Critic contrasts this passage with the terse style of the Essay of Studies (Essay 50), which was published in 1597.

man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is: the second, dissimulation in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is: and the third, simulation in the affirmative; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and, as in confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Besides (to say truth), nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down, that a habit of secrecy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts[a] of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree; for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long: so that no man can be secret, except he give him-

[a] A word now unused, signifying the "traits" or "features."

self a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which, because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them: the second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall: the third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a lie and find a troth;"[b] as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even; the first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which, in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark; the second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that, perhaps, would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends; the third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

[b] A truth.

VII.—OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

The joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith, "A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother."[a] A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons;[b] but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is a harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company, and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty: and, therefore, the proof[c] is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they

[a] Proverbs x. 1: "A wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother."

[b] Petted—spoiled.

[c] This word seems here to mean "a plan" or "method," as proved by its results.

are men, and disturbeth families.[d] The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolk; but so they be of the lump, they care not, though they pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman, more than his own parent as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible, and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection, or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, "Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo."[e]—Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII.—OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences; nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as

[d] There is considerable justice in this remark. Children should be taught to do what is right for its own sake, and because it is their duty to do so, and not that they may have the selfish gratification of obtaining the reward which their companions have failed to secure, and of being led to think themselves superior to their companions. When launched upon the world, emulation will be quite sufficiently forced upon them by stern necessity.

[e] "Select *that course of life* which is the most advantageous: habit will soon render it pleasant and easily endured."

bills of charges; nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer; for, perhaps they have heard some talk, "Such an one is a great rich man," and another except to it, "Yea, but he hath a great charge of children;" as if it were an abatement to his riches: but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects, for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool.[a] It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses, "Vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati."[b] Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wise, which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses, so as a man

[a] His meaning is, that if clergymen have the expenses of a family to support, they will hardly find means for the exercise of benevolence toward their parishioners.

[b] "He preferred his aged wife *Penelope* to immortality." This was when Ulysses was entreated by the goddess Calypso to give up all thoughts of returning to Ithaca, and to remain with her in the enjoyment of immortality.

may have a quarrel[c] to marry when he will: but yet he was reputed one of the wise men that made answer to the question when a man should marry: "A young man not yet, an elder man not at all." It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX.—OF ENVY.

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions, and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth envy an evil eye;[a] and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye: nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be

[c] "May have a pretext," or "excuse."

[a] So prevalent in ancient times was the notion of the injurious effects of the eye of envy, that in common parlance the Romans generally used the word "præfiscini," — "without risk of enchantment," or "fascination," when they spoke in high terms of themselves. They supposed that they thereby averted the effects of enchantment produced by the evil eye of any envious person who might at that moment possibly be looking upon them. Lord Bacon probably here alludes to St. Mark vii. 21, 22: "Out of the heart of men proceedeth — deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye." Solomon also speaks of the evil eye, Prov. xxiii. 6, and xxviii. 22.

thought on in fit place), we will handle what persons are apt to envy others, what persons are most subject to be envied themselves, and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others; for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand,[b] by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others: neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: "Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus."[c]

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men and bastards, are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, "That a eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters," affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses[d] the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane,[e] that were lame men.

[b] To be even with him.

[c] "There is no person a busy-body but what he is ill-natured too." This passage is from the Stichus of Plautus.

[d] Narses superseded Belisarius in the command of the armies of Italy, by the orders of the Emperor Justinian. He defeated Totila, the king of the Goths (who had taken Rome), in a decisive engagement, in which the latter was slain. He governed Italy with consummate ability for thirteen years, when he was ungratefully recalled by Justin the Second, the successor of Justinian.

[e] Tamerlane, or Timour, was a native of Samarcand, of which territory he was elected emperor. He overran Persia, Georgia, Hindostan, and captured Bajazet, the valiant Sultan of the Turks, at the

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work: it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works, wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note[f] of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy: First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied, for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

battle of Angora, 1402, whom he is said to have inclosed in a cage of iron. His conquests extended from the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to the Grecian Archipelago. While preparing for the invasion of China, he died, in the 70th year of his age, A.D. 1405. He was tall and corpulent in person, but was maimed in one hand, and lame on the right side.

[f] Comes under the observation.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not so much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground, than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and "per saltum."[g]

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly and pity them sometimes and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a "quanta patimur;"[h] not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for, by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft;

[g] "By a leap," *i. e.* over the heads of others.
[h] "How vast *the evils* we endure."

and that is, to remove the lot (as they call it), and to lay it upon another; for which purpose the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stag somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism,[i] that ec ipseth men when they grow too great; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word "invidia,"[k] goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it, so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions; for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune

[i] He probably alludes to the custom of the Athenians, who frequently ostracised or banished by vote their public men, lest they should become too powerful.

[k] From "in" and "video,"—"to look upon;" with reference to the so-called "evil eye" of the envious.

and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, "Invidia festos dies non agit:"[l] for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called "The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;"[m] as it always cometh to pass that envy worketh subtilely, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X.—OF LOVE.

THE stage is more beholding to love than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love, which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius,[a] the Decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, "Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus:"[b]

[l] "Envy keeps no holidays."

[m] See St. Matthew xiii. 25.

[a] He iniquitously attempted to obtain possession of the person of Virginia, who was killed by her father Virginius, to prevent her from falling a victim to his lust. This circumstance caused the fall of the Decemviri at Rome, who had been employed in framing the code of laws afterwards known as "The Laws of the Twelve Tables." They narrowly escaped being burnt alive by the infuriated populace.

[b] "We are a sufficient theme for contemplation, the one for the

as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love; neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, "That the arch flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self;" certainly the lover is more; for there was never proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, "That it is impossible to love and to be wise." Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciprocal, or with an inward and secret contempt; by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation[c] doth well figure them: "That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas;" for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do best who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their

other." Pope seems, notwithstanding this censure of Bacon to have been of the same opinion with Epicurus:—

> "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan.
> The proper study for mankind is man."
>
> *Essay on Man*, Ep. ii. 1, 2.

Indeed Lord Bacon seems to have misunderstood the saying of Epicurus, who did not mean to recommend man as the sole object of the bodily vision, but as the proper theme for mental contemplation.

[c] He refers here to the judgment of Paris, mentioned by Ovid in his Epistles, of the Heroines.

serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can nowise be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine, for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind, friendly love perfecteth it, but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI.—OF GREAT PLACE.

Men in great place are thrice servants—servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing: "Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere."[a] Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street-door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were

[a] "Since you are not what you were, there is no reason why you should wish to live"

by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within; for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. "Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi."[b] In place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will, the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. "Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;"[c] and then the Sabbath.

In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times—of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when

[b] "Death presses heavily upon him, who, well-known to all others, dies unknown to himself."

[c] "And God turned to behold the works which his hands had made, and he saw that everything was very good."—See Gen. i. 31.

thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence, and "de facto,"[d] than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four: delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands or thy servant's hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption: therefore, always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility,[e] it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects[f] lead a man, he shall never be without; as Solomon saith, "To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread."[g]

[d] "As a matter of course."

[e] Too great easiness of access.

[f] Predilections that are undeserved.

[g] Proverbs xxviii. 21. The whole passage stands thus in our version:—"He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent. To have respect of persons is not good; for, for a piece of bread that man will transgress."

It is most true that was anciently spoken; "A place showeth the man; and it showeth some to the better and some to the worse:" "Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset,"[h] saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, "Solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius;"[i] though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, "When he sits in place, he is another man."

XII.—OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, Action: what next?—Action: what next again?—Action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble

[h] "By the consent of all he was fit to govern, if he had not governed."

[i] "Of the emperors, Vespasian alone changed for the better *after his accession.*"

parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful-like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first?—boldness; what second and third?—boldness: and yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but, nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times; therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more, ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out; nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, "If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill." So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous; for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity; especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious

observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great.

XIII.—OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call "philanthropia;" and the word humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall;[a] the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall; but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch as Busbechius[b] reporteth,

[a] It is not improbable that this passage suggested Pope's beautiful lines in the *Essay on Man*, Ep. i. 125-8.

> "Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes,
> Men would be angels, angels would be gods.
> Aspiring to be gods, if angels fell,
> Aspiring to be angels, men rebel."

[b] Auger Gislen Busbec, or Busbequius, a learned traveller, born at Comines, in Flanders, in 1522. He was employed by the Emperor Ferdinand as ambassador to the Sultan Solyman II. He was afterwards ambassador to France, where he died in 1592. His "Letters" relative to his travels in the East, which are written in Latin, contain much interesting information. They were the pocket companion of Gibbon, and are highly praised by him.

a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl.[c] Errors, indeed, in this virtue, of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, "Tanto buon che val niente:"—"So good, that he is good for nothing:" and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel,[d] had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, "That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust;" which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law, or sect, or opinion did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth: therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of a habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an

[c] In this instance the stork or crane was probably protected not on the abstract grounds mentioned in the text, but for reasons of state policy and gratitude combined. In Eastern climates the cranes and dogs are far more efficacious than human agency in removing filth and offal, and thereby diminishing the chances of pestilence. Superstition, also, may have formed another motive, as we learn from a letter written from Adrianople by Lady Montagu, in 1718, that storks were "held there in a sort of religious reverence, because they are supposed to make every winter the pilgrimage to Mecca. To say truth, they are the happiest subjects under the Turkish government, and are so sensible of their privileges, that they walk the streets without fear, and generally build their nests in the lower parts of the houses. Happy are those whose houses are so distinguished, as the vulgar Turks are perfectly persuaded that they will not be that year attacked either by fire or pestilence." Storks are still protected by municipal law in Holland, and roam unmolested about the market-places.

[d] Nicolo Machiavelli, a Florentine statesman. He wrote "Discourses on the first Decade of Livy," which were conspicuous for their liberality of sentiment, and just and profound reflections. This work was succeeded by his famous treatise, "Il Principe,"—"The Prince," his patron, Cæsar Borgia, being the model of the perfect prince there described by him. The whole scope of this work is directed to one object—the maintenance of power, however acquired. Though its precepts are no doubt based upon the actual practice of the Italian politicians of that day, it has been suggested by some writers that the work was a covert exposure of the deformity of the shocking maxims that it professes to inculcate. The question of his motives has been much discussed, and is still considered open. The word "Machiavellism" has, however, been adopted to denote all that is deformed, insincere, and perfidious in politics. He died in great poverty, in the year 1527.

honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; "He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and the unjust;"[e] but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern; for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern: the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: "Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me:"[f] but sell not all thou hast except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity: for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores,[g] but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon[h] had: such dispositions are the very errors of human

[e] St. Matthew v. 5: "For he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

[f] This is a portion of our Saviour's reply to the rich man who asked him what he should do to inherit eternal life: "Then Jesus beholding him, loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt thou have treasure in heaven: and come, take up the cross, and follow me."—St. Mark x. 21.

[g] See St. Luke xvi. 21.

[h] Timon of Athens, as he is generally called (being so styled by Shakspeare in the play which he has founded on his story), was surnamed the "Misanthrope," from the hatred which he bore to his fellow-men. He was attached to Apemantus, another Athenian of similar character to himself, and he professed to esteem Alcibiades, because he foresaw that

nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics of; like to knee timber,[i] that is good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them: if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm:[k] if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot: if he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash: but, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema[l] from Christ for the salvation of his brethren, it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

XIV.—OF NOBILITY.

We will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside

he would one day bring ruin on his country. Going to the public assembly on one occasion, he mounted the Rostrum, and stated that he had a fig-tree on which many worthy citizens had ended their days by the halter; that he was going to cut it down for the purpose of building on the spot, and therefore recommended all such as were inclined to avail themselves of it before it was too late.

[i] A piece of timber that has grown crooked, and has been so cut that the trunk and branch form an angle.

[k] He probably here refers to the myrrh-tree. Incision is the method usually adopted for extracting the resinous juices of trees: as in the india-rubber and gutta-percha trees.

[l] "A votive," and in the present instance "a vicarious offering." He alludes to the words of St. Paul in his Second Epistle to Timothy ii. 10: "Therefore I endure all things for the elect's sakes, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory."

from the line royal: but for democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects.[a] The united provinces of the Low Countries[b] in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power, and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time! for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous,[c] but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts; but it is reason[d] the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth

[a] "Consideration of," or "predilection for, particular persons."

[b] The Low Countries had then recently emancipated themselves from the galling yoke of Spain. They were called the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands.

[c] This passage may at first sight appear somewhat contradictory; but he means to say that those who are first ennobled will commonly be found to be more conspicuous for the prominence of their qualities, both good and bad.

[d] Consistent with reason and justice.

commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is; besides, noble persons cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

XV.—OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia,[a] and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:—

—— "Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella."[b]

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort false news, often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants:—

"Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit."[c]

As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. How-

[a] The periods of the Equinoxes.

[b] "He often warns, too, that secret revolt is impending, that treachery and open warfare are ready to burst forth."

[c] "Mother Earth, exasperated at the wrath of the Deities, produced her, as they tell, a last birth, a sister to *the Giants* Cœus and Enceladus."

soever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, "Conflatâ magna invidiâ, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt."[d] Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: "Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent imperantium mandata interpretari, quam exsequi;"[e] disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side; it is, as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered league[f] for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a

[d] "Great public odium once excited, his deeds, whether good or whether bad, cause his downfall." Bacon has here quoted incorrectly, probably from memory. The words of Tacitus are (Hist. B. i. C. 7)—"Inviso semel principe, seu bene, seu male, facta premunt,"—"The ruler once detested, his actions, whether good or whether bad, cause his downfall."

[e] "They attended to their duties, but still, as preferring rather to discuss the commands of their rulers, than to obey them."

[f] He alludes to the bad policy of Henry the Third of France, who espoused the part of "the League" which was formed by the duke of Guise and other Catholics for the extirpation of the Protestant faith. When too late, he discovered his error, and, finding his own authority entirely superseded, he caused the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal De Lorraine, his brother, to be assassinated.

cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost; for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under "primum mobile,"[g] according to the old opinion, which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and as Tacitus expresseth it well, "liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent,"[h] it is a sign the orbs are out of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; "Solvam cingula regum."[i]

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions; then of the motives of them; and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:—

[g] "The primary motive power." He alludes to an imaginary centre of gravitation, or central body, which was supposed to set all the other heavenly bodies in motion.

[h] "Too freely to remember their own rulers."

[i] "I will unloose the girdles of kings." He probably alludes here to the first verse of the 45th chapter of Isaiah: "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have upholden, to subdue nations before him: and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates."

"Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."[k]

This same "multis utile bellum,"[l] is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great: for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "Dolendi modus, timendi non item:"[m] besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate[n] the courage; but in fears it is not so; neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, "The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull."[o]

The causes and motives of seditions are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

[k] "Hence devouring usury, and interest accumulating in lapse of time,—hence shaken credit, and warfare, profitable to the many."

[l] "Warfare profitable to the many."

[m] "To grief there is a limit, not so to fear."

[n] "Check," or "daunt."

[o] This is similar to the proverb now in common use: "'Tis the last feather that breaks the back of the camel."

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is, want and poverty in the estate:[p] to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess, by sumptuary laws;[q] the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them: neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number, that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more: therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock;[r] and, in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner[s] (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage; so that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that, "materiam superabit opus,"[t] that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth

[p] The state.

[q] Though sumptuary laws are probably just in theory, they have been found impracticable in any other than infant states. Their principle, however, is certainly recognised in such countries as by statutory enactment discountenance gaming. Those who are opposed to such laws upon principle, would do well to look into Bernard Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees,"—or "Private Vices Public Benefits." The Romans had numerous sumptuary laws, and in the middle ages there were many enactments in this country against excess of expenditure upon wearing apparel and the pleasures of the table.

[r] He means that they do not add to the capital of the country.

[s] At the expense of foreign countries.

[t] "The workmanship will surpass the material."—Ovid. Metamorph. lib. ii. l. 5.

a state more: as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines[u] above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve: and money is like muck,[x] not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at least, keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way: for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus[y] might well become Prometheus,

[u] He alludes to the manufactures of the Low Countries.

[x] Like manure.

[y] The myth of Pandora's box, which is here referred to, is related in the "Works and Days" of Hesiod. Epimetheus was the personification of "Afterthought," while his brother Prometheus represented "Forethought," or prudence. It was not Epimetheus that opened the box, but Pandora—"All-gift," whom, contrary to the advice of his brother, he had received at the hands of Mercury, and had made his wife. In their house stood a closed jar, which they were forbidden to open. Till her arrival, this had been kept untouched; but her curiosity prompting her to open the lid, all the evils hitherto unknown to man flew out and spread over the earth, and she only shut it down in time to prevent the escape of Hope.

in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments: and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular: which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech—"Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;"[2] for it did utterly cut off that

[2] "Sylla did not know his letters, *and so* he could not dictate." This saying is attributed by Suetonius to Julius Cæsar. It is a play on the Latin verb "dictare," which means either "to dictate," or "to act the part of Dictator," according to the context. As this saying was presumed to be a reflection on Sylla's ignorance, and to imply that by reason thereof he was unable to maintain his power, it was concluded by the Roman people that Cæsar, who was an elegant scholar, feeling

hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galb undid himself by that speech, "Legi a se militem, non emi;"[a] for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech, "Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;"[b] a speech of great despair for the soldiers, and many the like. Surely princes had need in tender matters and ticklish times to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; "Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur:"[c] but let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI.—OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the legend,[a] and the Talmud,[b] and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is

himself subject to no such inability, did not intend speedily to yield the reins of power.

[a] "That soldiers were levied by him, not bought."

[b] "If I live, there shall no longer be need of soldiers in the Roman empire."

[c] "And such was the state of feeling, that a few dared to perpetrate the worst of crimes; more wished to do so,—all submitted to it."

[a] He probably alludes to the legends or miraculous stories of the saints,—such as walking with their heads off, preaching to the fishes, sailing over the sea on a cloak, &c. &c.

This is the book that contains the Jewish traditions, and the

without a mind; and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy[c] inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity: nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion: that is, the school of Leucippus,[d] and Democritus,[e] and Epicurus: for it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence,[f] duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions, or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The Scripture saith, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;"[g] it is not said, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh[h] that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others;

Rabbinical explanations of the law. It is replete with wonderful narratives.

[c] This passage not improbably contains the germ of Pope's famous lines,—

"A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

[d] A Philosopher of Abdera; the first who taught the system of atoms, which was afterwards more fully developed by Democritus and Epicurus.

[e] He was a disciple of the last-named Philosopher, and held the same principles: he also denied the existence of the soul after death. He is considered to have been the parent of experimental Philosophy, and was the first to teach, what is now confirmed by science, that the Milky Way is an accumulation of stars.

[f] Spirit.

[g] Psalm xiv. 1, and liii. 1.

[h] To whose (seeming) advantage it is; the wish being father to the thought.

nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: "Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum."[i] Plato could have said no more; and although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians[k] of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., but not the word Deus, which shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it; so that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare; a Diagoras,[l] a Bion,[m] a Lucian[n] perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists: but the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever

[i] "It is not profane to deny *the existence of* the Deities of the vulgar: but to apply to the Divinities the received notions of the vulgar is profane."

[k] He alludes to the native tribes of the continent of America and the West Indies.

[l] He was an Athenian Philosopher, who from the greatest superstition became an avowed atheist. He was proscribed by the Areiopagus for speaking against the Gods with ridicule and contempt, and is supposed to have died at Corinth.

[m] A Greek Philosopher, a disciple of Theodorus the atheist, to whose opinions he adhered. His life was said to have been profligate, and his death superstitious.

[n] Lucian ridiculed the follies and pretensions of some of the ancient Philosophers; but though the freedom of his style was such as to cause him to be censured for impiety, he hardly deserves the stigma of atheism here cast upon him by the learned author.

handling holy things but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism: another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, "Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos:"[o] a third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy a man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or "melior natura;"[p] which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations: never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state hear what Cicero saith; "Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hâc unâ sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine

[o] "It is not for us now to say, 'Like priest like people,' for the people are not even so *bad* as the priest." St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, preached the second Crusade against the Saracens, and was unsparing in his censures of the sins then prevalent among the Christian priesthood. His writings are voluminous, and by some he has been considered as the latest of the fathers of the Church.

[p] "A superior nature."

omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes, nationesque superavimus."[q]

XVII.—OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely:[a] and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose, "Surely," saith he, "I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children[b] as soon as they were born;" as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men: therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times; but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "primum mobile,"[c] that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools: and arguments are fitted to practice

[q] "We may admire ourselves, conscript fathers, as much as we please; still, neither by numbers *did we vanquish* the Spaniards, nor by bodily strength the Gauls, nor by cunning the Carthaginians, nor through the arts the Greeks, nor, in fine, by the inborn and native good sense of this *our* nation, and this *our* race and soil, the Italians and Latins themselves; but through our devotion and our religious feeling, and this, the sole *true* wisdom, the having perceived that all things are regulated and governed by the providence of the immortal Gods, have we subdued all races and nations."

[a] The justice of this position is perhaps somewhat doubtful. The superstitious man *must* have *some* scruples, while he who believes not in a God (if there is such a person) *needs* have *none*.

[b] Time was personified in Saturn, and by this story was meant its tendency to destroy whatever it has brought into existence.

[c] The primary motive power.

in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent,[d] where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics[e] and epicycles,[f] and such engines of orbs to save[g] the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the Church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; overgreat reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the Church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations: and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII.—OF TRAVEL.

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a coun-

[d] This Council commenced in 1545, and lasted eighteen years. It was convened for the purpose of opposing the rising spirit of Protestantism, and of discussing and settling the disputed points of the Catholic faith.

[e] Irregular or anomalous movements.

[f] An epicycle is a smaller circle, whose centre is in the circumference of a greater one.

[g] To account for.

try, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories[a] ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges, burses, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry;

[a] Synods, or councils.

let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance; let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth: let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know; thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men[b] of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; for quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths,[c] place, and words; and let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

[b] At the present day called "attachés."

[c] He probably means the refusing to join on the occasion of drinking healths when taking wine.

XIX.—OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of Kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire,[a] which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, "That the king's heart is inscrutable:"[b] for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art, or feat of the hand: as Nero for playing on the harp, Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence;[c] Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things than by standing at a stay[d] in great. We see also that Kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian,[e] and in our memory, Charles the Fifth,[f] and others; for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

[a] Something to create excitement.

[b] "The heart of kings is unsearchable."—Prov. v. 3.

[c] Commodus fought naked in public as a gladiator, and prided himself on his skill as a swordsman.

[d] Making a stop at, or dwelling too long upon.

[e] After a prosperous reign of twenty-one years, Dioclesian abdicated the throne, and retired to a private station.

[f] After having reigned thirty-five years, he abdicated the thrones of Spain and Germany, and passed the two last years of his life in retirement at St. Just, a convent in Estremadura.

To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries; but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, "What was Nero's overthrow?" he answered, "Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low." And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared. For no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories; "Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ;"[g] for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours, there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, King of France,[h]

[g] "The desires of monarchs are generally impetuous and conflicting among themselves."

[h] He was especially the rival of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and

and Charles the Fifth, Emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in anywise take up peace at interest: and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini[i] saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Lorenzius Medicis, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed[k] for the poisoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solyman's wife,[l] was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England's Queen[m] had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband.

This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.[n]

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so

was one of the most distinguished sovereigns that ever ruled over France.

[i] An eminent historian of Florence. His great work, which is here alluded to, is, "The History of Italy during his own Time," which is considered one of the most valuable productions of that age.

[k] Spoken badly of. Livia was said to have hastened the death of Augustus, to prepare the accession of her son Tiberius to the throne.

[l] Solyman the Magnificent was one of the most celebrated of the Ottoman monarchs. He took the Isle of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John. He also subdued Moldavia, Wallachia, and the greatest part of Hungary, and took from the Persians, Georgia and Bagdad. He died A.D. 1566. His wife Roxolana (who was originally a slave called Rosa or Hazathya), with the Pasha Rustan, conspired against the life of his son Mustapha, and by their instigation this distinguished prince was strangled in his father's presence.

[m] The infamous Isabella of Anjou.

[n] Adultresses.

fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be supposititious.[o] The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius,[p] son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus[q] and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the King's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings; William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the King, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a King more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did

[o] He, however, distinguished himself by taking Cyprus from the Venetians in the year 1571.

[p] He was falsely accused by his brother Perseus of attempting to dethrone his father, on which he was put to death by the order of Philip, B.C. 180.

[q] Anselm was archbishop of Canterbury in the time of William Rufus and Henry the First. Though his private life was pious and exemplary, through his rigid assertion of the rights of the clergy, he was continually embroiled with his sovereign. Thomas à Becket pursued a similar course, but with still greater violence.

they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles, there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt: besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are "vena porta;"[r] and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the King's revenue, for that which he wins[s] in the hundred,[t] he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war,[u] it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives; whereof we see examples in the Janizaries[x] and Prætorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, "Memento quod es homo;"[y] and "Memento quod es Deus,"[z] or "vice Dei;"[a] the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

[r] The great vessel that conveys the blood to the liver, after it has been enriched by the absorption of nutriment from the intestines.

[s] This is an expression similar to our proverb, "Penny-wise and pound-foolish."

[t] A subdivision of the shire.

[u] Soldiers.

[x] The Janizaries were the body-guards of the Turkish sultans, and enacted the same disgraceful part in making and unmaking monarchs as the mercenary Prætorian guards of the Roman empire.

[y] "Remember that thou art a man."

[z] "Remember that thou art a God."

[a] "The representative of God."

XX.—OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, "The Counsellor."[a] Solomon hath pronounced that, "in counsel is stability."[b] Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son[c] found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with Kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other, in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child; but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up: whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how Kings are to make use of their

[a] Isaiah ix. 6: "His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace."

[b] Prov. xx. 18: "Every purpose is established by counsel: and with good advice make war."

[c] The wicked Rehoboam, from whom the ten tribes of Israel revolted and elected Jeroboam their king. See 1 Kings xii.

counsel of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed), proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some Kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils; a remedy worse than the disease.[d]

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select; neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do; but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, "Plenus rimarum sum:"[e] one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the King: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent King, such as is

[d] The political world has not been convinced of the truth of this doctrine of Lord Bacon; as cabinet councils are now held probably by every sovereign in Europe.

[e] "I am full of outlets."

able to grind with a hand-mill ;[f] and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the King's ends ; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton[g] and Fox.[h]

For weakening of authority, the fable[i] showeth the remedy : nay, the majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of council ; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.[k]

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves ; certainly, "non inveniet fidem super terram,"[l] is meant of the nature of times,[m] and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved : let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another ; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's ear : but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them :

[f] That is, without a complicated machinery of government.

[g] Master of the Rolls and privy-councillor under Henry VI., to whose cause he faithfully adhered. Edward IV. promoted him to the see of Ely, and made him lord-chancellor. He was elevated to the see of Canterbury by Henry VII., and in 1493 received the Cardinal's hat.

[h] Privy-councillor and Keeper of the Privy Seal to Henry VII. ; and after enjoying several bishoprics in succession, translated to the see of Winchester. He was an able statesman, and highly valued by Henry VII. On the accession of Henry VIII., his political influence was counteracted by Wolsey ; on which he retired to his diocese, and devoted the rest of his life to acts of piety and munificence.

[i] Before mentioned, relative to Jupiter and Metis.

[k] Remedied.

[l] "He shall not find faith upon the earth." Lord Bacon probably alludes to the words of our Saviour, St. Luke xviii. 8 : "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith upon the earth ?"

[m] He means to say that this remark was only applicable to a particular time, namely, the coming of Christ. The period of the destruction of Jerusalem was probably referred to.

"Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos."[n]

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business than in his nature;[o] for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious[p] to others' humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images: and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, "secundum genera,"[q] as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, "Optimi consiliarii mortui:"[r] "books will speak plain when counsellors blanch;"[s] therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; "In

[n] "'Tis the especial virtue of a prince to know his own men."

[o] In his disposition, or inclination.

[p] Liable to opposition from.

[q] "According to classes," or, as we vulgarly say, "in the lump." Lord Bacon means that princes are not, as a matter of course, to take counsellors merely on the presumption of talent, from their rank and station; but that, on the contrary, they are to select such as are tried men, and with regard to whom there can be no mistake.

[r] "The best counsellors are the dead."

[s] "Are afraid" to open their mouths.

nocte consilium:"[t] so was it done in the commission of union[u] between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may "hoc agere."[x] In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend, also, standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like), be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious[y] manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of "placebo."[z]

[t] "Night-time for counsel."

[u] On the accession of James the Sixth of Scotland to the throne of England in 1603.

[x] A phrase much in use with the Romans, signifying, "to attend to the business in hand."

[y] A tribunitial or declamatory manner.

[z] "I'll follow the bent of your humour."

XXI.—OF DELAYS.

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer,[a] which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion (as it is in the common verse) "turneth a bald noddle[b] after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken;" or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them: nay, it were better to meet some dangers half-way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low, and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

[a] See the history of Rome under the reign of Tarquinius Superbus.

[b] Bald head. He alludes to the common saying "take time by the forelock."

XXII.—OF CUNNING.

We take cunning for a sinister, or crooked wisdom ; and certainly there is great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards,[a] and yet cannot play well ; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters ; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley : turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim ; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, "Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis,"[b] doth scarce hold for them ; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers[c] of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon[d] him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept ; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances : yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into

[a] Packing the cards is an admirable illustration of the author's meaning. It is a cheating exploit, by which knaves, who perhaps are inferior players, insure to themselves the certainty of good hands.

[b] "Send them both naked among strangers, and *then* you will see."

[c] This word is used here in its primitive sense of "retail dealers." It is said to have been derived from a custom of the Flemings, who first settled in this country in the fourteenth century, stopping the passengers as they passed their shops, and saying to them, "Haber das herr?"—"Will you take this, sir?" The word is now generally used as synonymous with linen-draper.

[d] To watch.

some discourse of estate,[e] that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things[f] when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah[g] did, "And I had not before that time been sad before the king."

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage[h] of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, "The world says," or "There is a speech abroad."

I knew one, that when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a by-matter.

[e] State. [f] Discussing matters.

[g] He refers to the occasion when Nehemiah, on presenting the wine, as cupbearer to King Artaxerxes, appeared sorrowful, and on being asked the reason of it, entreated the king to allow Jerusalem to be rebuilt. Nehemiah ii. 1.

[h] This can hardly be called a marriage, as at the time of the intrigue Messalina was the wife of Claudius: but she forced Caius Silius, of whom she was deeply enamoured, to divorce his own wife, that she herself might enjoy his society. The intrigue was disclosed to Claudius by Narcissus, who was his freedman, and the parder to his infamous vices' on which Silius was put to death.

I knew another, that when he came to have speech,[i] he would pass over that that he intended most: and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be opposed of[k] those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter[l] between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it:[m] the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call "the turning of the cat in the pan;" which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, "This I do not;" as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, "Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare."[n]

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there

[i] To speak in his turn.
[k] Be questioned upon.
[l] Kept on good terms.
[m] Desire it.
[n] "That he did not have various hopes in view, but solely the safety of the emperor." Tigellinus was the profligate minister of Nero, and Africanus Burrhus was the chief of the Prætorian guards.

is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale ;[o] which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions ; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say ; and how far about they will fetch,[p] and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it : it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's,[q] another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them ; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts[r] and falls[s] of business that cannot sink into the main of it ;[t] like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room : therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses[u] in the conclusion, but are noways able to examine or debate matters : and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon soundness of their own proceedings : but Solomon saith, "Prudens advertit ad gressus suos : stultus divertit ad dolos."[x]

[o] As Nathan did when he reproved David for his criminality with Bathsheba. 2 Samuel xii.

[p] Use indirect stratagems.

[q] He alludes to the old Cathedral of St. Paul in London, which, in the sixteenth century, was a common lounge for idlers.

[r] Movements, or springs.

[s] Chances, or vicissitudes.

[t] Enter deeply into.

[u] Faults, or weak points.

[x] "The wise man gives heed to his own footsteps ; the fool turneth aside to the snare." No doubt he here alludes to Ecclesiastes xiv. 2, which passage is thus rendered in our version : "The wise man's eyes are in his head : but the fool walketh in darkness."

XXIII.—OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd[a] thing in an orchard or garden: and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others, specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth; for that only stands fast upon his own centre;[b] whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self, is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune; but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state: therefore let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's: and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs: and, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, an it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters be-

[a] Mischievous.

[b] It must be remembered that Bacon was not a favourer of the Copernican system.

cause their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are, "sui amantes, sine rivali,"[c] are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV.—OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation; for ill to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine[a] is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves;[b] whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still

[c] "Lovers of themselves without a rival."
[a] Remedy.
[b] Adapted to each other.

which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some and pairs[c] other; and he that is holpen, takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect,[d] and, as the Scripture saith, "That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it."[e]

XXV.—OF DISPATCH.

AFFECTED dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be: it is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the body full of crudities, and secret seeds of diseases: therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business: and as in races, it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch: It is the care of some, only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting,[a]

[c] Injures, or impairs.

[d] A thing suspected.

[e] He probably alludes to Jeremiah vi. 16: "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

[a] That is, by means of good management.

another by cutting off; and business so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man[b] that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner."

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: "Mi venga la muerte de Spagna;"—"Let my death come from Spain;" for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course; but sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe, or mantle, with a long train, is for a race. Prefaces, and passages,[c] and excusations,[d] and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery.[e] Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment, or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind[f] ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never

[b] It is supposed that he here alludes to Sir Amyas Paulet, a very able statesman, and the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to the court of France.

[c] Quotations.

[d] Apologies

[e] Boasting.

[f] Prejudice.

come out of it clearly. To choose time, is to save time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business: the preparation; the debate, or examination; and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding, upon somewhat conceived in writing, doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI.—OF SEEMING WISE.

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man; for as the apostle saith of godliness, "Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof;"[a] so certainly there are, in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly; "magno conatu nugas."[b] It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make superficies to seem body, that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not show their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; "Respondes altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio; crudelitatem tibi non placere."[c] Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on,

[a] 2 Tim. iii. 5. [b] "Trifles with great effort."

[c] "With one brow raised to your forehead, the other bent downward to your chin, you answer that cruelty delights you not."

and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of it as impertinent or curious: and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, "Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera."[d] Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men, in all deliberations, find ease to be[e] of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work: which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar,[f] hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

XXVII.—OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, "Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god:"[a] for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society in any man hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed,

[d] "A foolish man, who fritters away the weight of matters by fine-spun trifling on words."

[e] Find it easier to make difficulties and objections than to originate.

[f] One really in insolvent circumstances, though to the world he does not appear so.

[a] He here quotes from a passage in the "*Politica*" of Aristotle, book i. "He who is unable to mingle in society, or who requires nothing, by reason of sufficing for himself, is no part of the state, so that he is either a wild beast or a Divinity."

not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides,[b] the Candian; Numa, the Roman; Empedocles, the Sicilian; and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little, "Magna civitas, magna solitudo;"[c] because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods: but we may go further, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza[d] to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum[e] for the brain; but no receipt openeth

[b] Epimenides, a poet of Crete (of which Candia is the modern name), is said by Pliny to have fallen into a sleep which lasted fifty-seven years. He was also said to have lived 299 years. Numa pretended that he was instructed in the art of legislation by the divine nymph Egeria, who dwelt in the Arician grove. Empedocles, the Sicilian philosopher, declared himself to be immortal, and to be able to cure all evils: he is said by some to have retired from society that his death might not be known, and to have thrown himself into the crater of Mount Ætna. Apollonius of Tyana, the Pythagorean philosopher, pretended to miraculous powers, and after his death a temple was erected to him at that place. His life is recorded by Philostratus; and some persons, among whom are Hierocles, Dr. More, in his Mystery of Godliness, and recently Strauss, have not hesitated to compare his miracles with those of our Saviour.

[c] "A great city, a great desert."

[d] Sarsaparilla.

[e] A liquid matter of a pungent smell, extracted from a portion of the body of the beaver.

the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them "participes curarum;"[f] for it is that which tieth the knot: and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch, for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calphurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate

[f] "Partakers of cares."

till his wife had dreamt a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him "venefica," —"witch;" as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, "Hæc pro amicitiâ nostrâ non occultavi;"[g] and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words: "I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me." Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise,[h] of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half-piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy,[k] namely, that he

[g] "These things, by reason of our friendship, I have not concealed *from you.*"

[h] Such infamous men as Tiberius and Sejanus hardly deserve this commendation.

[i] Philip de Comines.

[k] Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, the valiant antagonist of Louis XI. of France. De Comines spent his early years at his court, but afterwards passed into the service of Louis XI. This monarch was notorious for his cruelty, treachery, and dissimulation, and had all the bad qualities of his contemporary, Edward IV. of England, without any of his redeeming virtues.

would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true, "Cor ne edito,"—"eat not the heart."[1] Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves: for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists used to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts: neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and

[1] Pythagoras went still further than this, as he forbade his disciples to eat flesh of any kind whatever. See the interesting speech which Ovid attributes to him in the Fifteenth book of the Metamorphoses. Sir Thomas Browne, in his Pseudodoxia (Browne's Works, Bohn's Antiquarian edn., vol. i. p. 27, et seq.), gives some curious explanations of the doctrines of this philosopher.

break up in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, "That speech was like cloth of Arras,[m] opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs." Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel (they indeed are best), but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation: which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the best:" and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business: for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health, is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt (best I say to

[m] Tapestry. Speaking hypercritically, Lord Bacon commits an anachronism here, as Arras did not manufacture tapestry till the middle ages.

work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men "that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour."[n] As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters;[o] or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest;[p] and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight: and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all); but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient: but a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience; and therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

[n] James i. 23.

[o] He alludes to the recommendation which moralists have often given, that a person in anger should go through the alphabet to himself before he allows himself to speak.

[p] In his day the musket was fixed upon a stand, called the "rest," much as the gingals or matchlocks are used in the East at the present day.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid, and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to say, "that a friend is another himself:" for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place: but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there, which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII.—OF EXPENSE.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expense ought to be limited by a

man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel: if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable: and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing[a] of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

XXIX.—OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

The speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had

[a] From debts and incumbrances.

been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, "He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city." These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two different abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, "negotiis pares,"[a] able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises: nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed;[b]

[a] "Equal to business."

[b] He alludes to the following passage, St Matthew xiii. 31: "An-

which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil saith, "It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be." The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, "He would not pilfer the victory:" and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes,[c] the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, "Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight;" but before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing: for Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), "Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold." Therefore, let any prince, or state, think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the

other parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and sowed in his field: which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof."

[c] He was vanquished by Lucullus, and finally submitted to Pompey.

other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar[d] will never meet; that the same people, or nation, should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens; neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies[e] of England; for, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles[f] too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for a helmet: especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the mid-

[d] He alludes to the prophetic words of Jacob on his death-bed, Gen. xlix. 9, 14, 15: "Judah is a lion's whelp —— he stooped down, he crouched as a lion, and as an old lion——Issachar is a strong ass crouching down between two burdens: And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute."

[e] Sums of money voluntarily contributed by the people for the use of the sovereign.

[f] Young trees.

dle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not: and herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

"Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ."[g]

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and, therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy[h] be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown, or state, bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire; for to think that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in

[g] "A land strong in arms and in the richness of the soil."

[h] He alludes to the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, which is mentioned Daniel iv. 10: "I saw, and, behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth; the leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it."

point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becoming too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called "jus civitatis"),[h] and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only "jus commercii,[i] jus connubii,[k] jus hæreditatis;"[l] but also, "jus suffragii,"[m] and "jus honorum;"[n] and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations, and, putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards;[o] but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands; nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the pragmatical sanction,[p] now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they

[h] "Right of citizenship."
[i] "Right of trading."
[k] "Right of intermarriage."
[l] "Right of inheritance."
[m] "Right of suffrage."
[n] "Right of honours."

[o] Long since the time of Lord Bacon, as soon as these colonies had arrived at a certain state of maturity, they at different periods revolted from the mother country.

[p] The laws and ordinances promulgated by the sovereigns of Spain were so called. The term was derived from the Byzantine empire.

be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c., not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations[q] towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend[r] arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash;[s] the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time: the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards: but it is so plain, that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point is, for a state to have those laws or

[q] Qualifications. [r] Attend to.
[s] For a short or transitory period.

customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some, at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war: first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be pressed [t] and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia: or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and, certainly, to a kingdom, or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt: but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that

[t] Be in a hurry.

which commonly giveth the law, or at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain,[a] which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus, of Pompey's preparation against Cæsar, saith, "Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri;"[x] and without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes, or states, have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain; that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things; but in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives[y] and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor which the great kings

[a] It was its immense armaments that in a great measure consumed the vitals of Spain.

[x] "Pompey's plan is clearly that of Themistocles; for he believes that whoever is master of the sea will obtain the supreme power."

[y] Encomiums.

of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things; honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking (as the Scripture saith), "add a cubit to his stature,"[z] in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX.—OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, "This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it:" for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing[a] a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet,

[z] St. Matthew vi. 27; St. Luke xii. 25.
[a] The effects of which must be felt in old age.

and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in anything thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly,[b] and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat, and of sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys, and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects; as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet, for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident[c] in your body, but ask opinion[d] of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may, in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating;[e] watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physi-

[b] Of benefit in your individual case.
[c] Any striking change in the constitution.
[d] Take medical advice.
[e] Incline rather to fully satisfying your hunger.

cians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI.- OF SUSPICION.

Suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures, as in the example of Henry VII. of England; there was not a more suspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no; but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false:[a] for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the

[a] To hope the best, but be fully prepared for the worst.

tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean, to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, "Sospetto licentia fede;"[b] as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII.—OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments,[a] than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common-places and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion;[b] and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary, and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest; for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade anything too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled;[c]

[b] "Suspicion is the passport to faith."

[a] A censure of this nature has been applied by some to Dr. Johnson, and possibly with some reason.

[b] To start the subject.

[c] Requires to be bridled.

"Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris."[d]

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge; but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser;[e] and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as musicians used to do with those that dance too long galliards.[f] If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, "He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself:" and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch[g] towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, "Tell truly, was there never a flout[h] or dry blow[i] given?" To which the guest would answer, "Such and such a thing passed." The lord would say, "I thought he would mar a good dinner." Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of

[d] He quotes here from Ovid: "Boy, spare the whip, and tightly grasp the reins."

[e] One who tests or examines.

[f] The Galliard was a light active dance much in fashion in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

[g] Hits at, or remarks intended to be applied to particular individuals.

[h] A slight or insult.

[i] A sarcastic remark.

interlocution, shows slowness ; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, showeth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn ; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances, ere one come to the matter, is wearisome ; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII.—OF PLANTATIONS.[a]

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer : for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I 'ike a plantation in a pure soil ; that is, where people are not displanted,[b] to the end to plant in others ; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods ; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end : for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblessed thing[c] to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant ; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation ; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over tc their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In

[a] The old term for Colonies.

[b] He perhaps alludes covertly to the conduct of the Spaniards in extirpating the aboriginal inhabitants of the West India Islands, against which the venerable Las Casas so eloquently but vainly protested.

[c] Of course this censure would not apply to what is primarily and essentially a convict colony ; the object of which is to drain the mother country of its impure superfluities.

a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand: as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private use. Consider, likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia.[d] Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing silk, likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit: soap-ashes, likewise, and other things that may be thought of; but moil[e] not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other

[d] Times have much changed since this was penned: tobacco is now the staple commodity, and the source of "the main business" of Virginia.

[e] To labour hard.

things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service, before their eyes: let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish[f] and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation, that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles,[g] but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

[f] Marshy; from the French *marais*, a marsh.
[g] Gewgaws, or spangles.

XXIV.—OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, "impedimenta;" for as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue; it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory: of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit; so saith Solomon, "Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?"[a] The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon saith, "Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man;"[b] but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact: for, certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract nor friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, "In studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri."[c] Hearken also to Solomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches: "Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons."[d] The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is

[a] He alludes to Ecclesiastes v. 11, the words of which are somewhat varied in our version: "When goods increase, they are increased that eat them; and what good is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes?"

[b] "The rich man's wealth is his strong city."—Prov. x. 15; xviii. 11.

[c] "In his anxiety to increase his fortune, it was evident that not the gratification of avarice was sought, but the means of doing good."

[d] "He who hastens to riches will not be without guilt." In our version the words are: "He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent."—Proverbs xxviii. 22.

riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others[e] (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil: for when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression, and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow; and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greatest audits[f] of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber-man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, "That himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches;" for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets,[g] and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly: by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity: broke by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naught; as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon

[e] Pluto being the king of the Infernal regions, or place of departed pirits.

[f] Rent-roll, or account taken of income.

[g] Wait till prices have risen.

the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, "in sudore vultûs alieni;"[h] and besides, doth plough upon Sundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune, in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches, as it was with the first sugarman[i] in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit: he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for resale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, "Testamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi"),[k] it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment: likewise, glorious gifts

[h] "In the sweat of another's brow." He alludes to the words of Genesis iii. 19: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

[i] Planter of sugar-canes.

[k] "Wills and childless persons were caught *by him* as though with a hunting-net."

and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

XXXV.—OF PROPHECIES.

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa[a] to Saul, "To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me." Virgil hath these verses from Homer:—

> "Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
> Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis."[b]

A prophecy as it seems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

> "——— Venient annis
> Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
> Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
> Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
> Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
> Ultima Thule:"[c]

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates[d] dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and

[a] "Pythoness," used in the sense of witch. He alludes to the witch of Endor, and the words in Samuel xxviii. 19. He is, however, mistaken in attributing these words to the witch; it was the spirit of Samuel that said, "To-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me."

[b] "But the house of Æneas shall reign over every shore, both his children's children, and those who shall spring from them."

[c] "After the lapse of years, ages will come in which Ocean shall relax his chains around the world, and a vast continent shall appear, and Tiphys shall explore new regions, and Thule shall be no longer the utmost verge of earth."

[d] He was king of Samos, and was treacherously put to death by Orœtes, the governor of Magnesia, in Asia Minor. His daughter, in consequence of her dream, attempted to dissuade him from visiting Orœtes, but in vain.

Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, "Philippis iterum me videbis."[e] Tiberius said to Galba, "Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium."[f] In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea, should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, "This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive." When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother,[g] who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels; but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

"When hempe is spunne
England's done:"

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hempe (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that

[e] "Thou shalt see me again at Philippi."

[f] "Thou also, Galba, shalt taste of empire."

[g] Catherine de Medicis, the wife of Henry II. of France, who died from a wound accidentally received in a tournament.

the king's style is now no more of England, but of Britain.[h] There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

> "There shall be seen upon a day,
> Between the Baugh and the May,
> The black fleet of Norway.
> When that that is come and gone,
> England build houses of lime and stone,
> For after wars shall you have none."

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

> "Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,"[i]

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream,[k] I think it was a jest; it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon: and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology: but I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside: though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress

[h] James I. being the first monarch of Great Britain.

[i] "The eighty-eighth will be a wondrous year."

[k] Aristophanes, in his Comedy of The Knights, satirizes Cleon, the Athenian demagogue. He introduces a declaration of the oracle that the Eagle of hides (by whom Cleon was meant, his father having been a tanner) should be conquered by a serpent, which Demosthenes, one of the characters in the play, expounds as meaning a maker of sausages. How Lord Bacon could for a moment doubt that this was a mere jest, it is difficult to conjecture. The following is a literal translation of a portion of the passage from The Knights (l. 197):—"But when a leather eagle with crooked talons shall have seized with its jaws a serpent, a stupid creature, a drinker of blood, then the tan-pickle of the Paphlagonians is destroyed; but upon the sellers of sausages the Deity bestows great glory, unless they choose rather to sell sausages

them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss ;[1] as they do, generally, also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies ; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect : as that of Seneca's verse ; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea : and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus,[m] it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event past.

XXXVI.—OF AMBITION.

Ambition is like choler, which is a humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped : but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust,[a] and thereby malign and venomous : so ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous ; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward ; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state : therefore

[1] This is a very just remark. So-called strange coincidences, and wonderful dreams that are verified, when the point is considered, are really not at all marvellous. We never hear of the 999 dreams that are not verified, but the thousandth that happens to precede its fulfilment is blazoned by unthinking people as a marvel. It would be a much more wonderful thing if dreams were not occasionally verified.

[m] Under this name he alludes to the Critias of Plato, in which an imaginary "terra incognita" is discoursed of under the name of the "New Atlantis." It has been conjectured from this by some, that Plato really did believe in the existence of a continent on the other side of the globe.

[a] Hot and fiery.

it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so, as they be still progressive, and not retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest: and to take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled[b] dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro[c] in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones; for when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to[d] ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if

[b] With the eyes closed, or blindfolded.

[c] He was a favourite of Tiberius, to whose murder by Nero he was said to have been an accessary. He afterwards prostituted his own wife to Caligula, by whom he was eventually put to death.

[d] Liable to.

they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in everything; for that breeds confusion, and mars business: but yet, it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependencies. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it: the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery; and let them discern a busy nature, from a willing mind.

XXXVII.—OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

These things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly (a base and a tenor; no treble), and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wise, give great

pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally, let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings:[a] let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that show best by candlelight, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green; and ouches,[b] or spangs,[c] as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost, and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizors are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques[d] not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets,[e] nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques: and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other side, as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and

[a] Chirpings like the noise of young birds.

[b] Jewels or necklaces.

[c] Spangles, or O's of gold or silver. Beckmann says that these were invented in the beginning of the seventeenth century. See Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions (Bohn's Stand. Lib.), vol. i. p. 424.

[d] Or antick-masques, were ridiculous interludes dividing the acts of the more serious masque. These were performed by hired actors, while the masque was played by ladies and gentlemen. The rule was, the characters were to be neither serious nor hideous. The "Comus" of Milton is an admirable specimen of a masque.

[e] Turks.

variety ; but all is nothing, except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like ; or in the devices of their entrance, or in the bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII.—OF NATURE IN MEN.

Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return ; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune ; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks ; for the first will make him dejected by often failings, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings : and at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders, or rushes ; but, after a time, let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes ; for it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time ; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry ; then to go less in quantity : as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal ; and lastly, to discontinue altogether : but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best :

> "Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
> Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel."[a]

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right ; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a

[a] "He is the best asserter *of the liberty* of his mind who bursts the chains that gall his breast, and at the same moment ceases to grieve." This quotation is from Ovid's Remedy of Love.

man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission : for both the pause reinforceth the new onset ; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both ; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions ; but let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far ; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion, or temptation ; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her : therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation ; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations ; otherwise they may say, "Multum incola fuit anima mea,"[b] when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it ; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times ; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds ; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX.—OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination :[a] their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions ; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed : and, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest

[b] "My soul has long been a sojourner."

[a] "The wish is father to the thought," is a proverbial saying of similar meaning.

upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such a one as hath had his hands formerly in blood; but Machiavel knew not of a Friar Clement, nor a Ravillac,[b] nor a Jaureguy,[c] nor a Baltazar Gerard;[d] yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary[e] resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians[f] (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as quecking.[g] I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a withe, and not in a halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body: therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we

[b] He murdered Henry IV. of France, in 1610.

[c] Philip II. of Spain having, in 1582, set a price upon the head of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, the leader of the Protestants, Jaureguy attempted to assassinate him, and severely wounded him.

[d] He assassinated William of Nassau, in 1584. It is supposed that this fanatic meditated the crime for six years.

[e] A resolution prompted by a vow of devotion to a particular principle or creed.

[f] He alludes to the Hindoos, and the ceremony of Suttee, encouraged by the Brahmins.

[g] Flinching.

ree, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true, that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds; but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL.—OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue: but chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands: "Faber quisque fortunæ suæ,"[a] saith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. "Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco."[b] Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a

[a] "Every man is the architect of his own fortune." Sallust, in his letters "De Republicâ Ordinandâ," attributes these words to Appius Claudius Cæcus, a Roman poet whose works are now lost. Lord Bacon, in the Latin translation of his Essays, which was made under his supervision, rendered the word "poet" "comicus;" by whom he probably meant Plautus, who has this line in his "Trinummus" (Act ii. sc. 2): "Nam sapiens quidem pol ipsus fingit fortunam sibi," which has the same meaning, though in somewhat different terms.

[b] "A serpent, unless it has devoured a serpent, does not become a dragon."

man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name, "disemboltura,"[c] partly expresseth them, when there be not stonds[d] nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune; for so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, "In illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur),"[e] falleth upon that that he had "versatile ingenium:"[f] therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of Fortune is like the milky way in the sky; which is a meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath "Poco di matto;"[g] and certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest; therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate; neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. A hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; (the French hath it better, "entreprenant," or "remuant"); but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two Felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, "Cæsarem

[c] Or "desenvoltura," implying readiness to adapt oneself to circumstances.

[d] Impediments, causes for hesitation.

[e] "In that man there was such great strength of body and mind, that in whatever station he had been born, he seemed as though he should make his fortune."

[f] "A versatile genius."

[g] "A little of the fool."

portas, et fortunam ejus."[h] So Sylla chose the name of "Felix,"[i] and not of "Magnus:"[k] and it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end unfortunate. It is written, that Timotheus,[l] the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, "and in this Fortune had no part," never prospered in anything he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide[m] and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI.—OF USURY.[a]

MANY have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe; that the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

"Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent;"[b]

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, "in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum;"[c] not, "in sudore vultûs alieni;"[d] that usurers should have orange-tawny[e] bonnets, because they do Judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget

[h] "Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes."

[i] "The Fortunate." He attributed his success to the intervention of Hercules, to whom he paid especial veneration.

[k] "The Great."

[l] A successful Athenian general, the son of Conon, and the friend of Plato.

[m] Fluency or smoothness.

[a] Lord Bacon seems to use the word in the general sense of "lending money upon interest."

[b] "Drive from their hives the drones, a lazy race."—Georgics, b. iv. 168.

[c] "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread."—Gen. iii. 19.

[d] "In the sweat of the face of another."

[e] In the middle ages the Jews were compelled, by legal enactment, to wear peculiar dresses and colours; one of these was orange.

money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a "concessum propter duritiem cordis:"[f] for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out; and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandising, which is the "vena porta"[g] of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit[h] at great usury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of kings, or states, which ebb or flow with merchandising: the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread: the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandising, or purchasing, and usury waylays both: the sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug: the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandising, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in, or

[f] "A concession by reason of hardness of heart." He alludes to the words in St. Matthew xix. 8.

[g] See Note to Essay xix.

[h] Hold.

keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade: the second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods), far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel moneyed man in the country, that would say, "The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate, or other; so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.[i]

To speak now of the reformation and reglement[k] of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite moneyed men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandise being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all; the other under license only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandising. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the

[i] The imaginary country described in Sir Thomas More's political romance of that name.

[k] Regulation.

state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same; this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five: this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following: let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever; let it be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered,[1] some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandising; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's moneys in the country: so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will send his moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

[1] Be paid.

XLII.—OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: for there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, "Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;"[a] and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list; but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix,[b] and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner.

Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and that, which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse, that will not neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a

[a] "He passed his youth full of errors, of madness even."

[b] He was nephew of Louis XII. of France, and commanded the French armies in Italy against the Spaniards. After a brilliant career, he was killed at the battle of Ravenna, in 1512.

mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth: but, for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams,"[c] inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream; and certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned: such as was Hermogenes[d] the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid: a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions, which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech, which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, "Idem manebat, neque idem decebat:"[e] the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith, in effect, "Ultima primis cedebant."[f]

[c] Joel ii. 28, quoted Acts ii. 17.

[d] He lived in the second century after Christ, and is said to have lost his memory at the age of twenty-five.

[e] "He remained the same, but *with the advance of years* was not so becoming."

[f] "The close was unequal to the beginning." This quotation is not correct; the words are—"Memorabilior prima pars vitæ quam postrema fuit,"—"The first part of his life was more distinguished than the latter."—Livy, xxxviii. ch. 53.

XLIII.—OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect; neither is it almost seen that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour, than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England,[a] Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour, is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion, more than that of favour.[b] That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions: the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them: not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music), and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though persons in years seem many times more amiable; "Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher;"[c] for no youth can be comely but by pardon,[d] and considering the youth as

[a] By the context, he would seem to consider "great spirit" and "virtue" as convertible terms. Edward IV., however, has no claim to be considered as a virtuous or magnanimous man, though he possess great physical courage.

[b] Features.

[c] "The autumn of the beautiful is beautiful."

[d] By making allowances.

to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtues shine, and vices blush.

XLIV.—OF DEFORMITY.

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith), "void of natural affection;"[a] and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other: "Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero:"[b] but because there is in man an election, touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign which is more deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession; so that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are more

[a] Rom. i. 31; 2 Tim. iii. 3.
[b] "Where she errs in the one, she ventures in the other."

obnoxious and officious towards one; but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials,[c] and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers: and much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn: which must be either by virtue or malice; and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaüs, Zanger the son of Solyman,[d] Æsop, Gasca president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

XLV.—OF BUILDING.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat,[a] committeth himself to prison: neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap[b] of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat; but ill ways, ill markets, and, if you will consult with Momus,[c] ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or

[c] Spies.
[a] Site.
[d] Solyman the Magnificent, Sultan of the Turks.
[b] Knoll.
[c] **Have a liking for** cheerful **society. Momus being the God of mirth.**

too near them, which lurcheth[d] all provisions, and maketh everything dear; where a man hath a great living laid together; and where he is scanted; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, "Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?" Lucullus answered, "Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?"

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books De Oratore, and a book he entitles Orator; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof; for it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial,[e] and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Esther,[f] and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that as it were joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel (with a partition

[d] Eats up.

[e] A vast edifice, about twenty miles from Madrid, founded by Philip II.

[f] Esth. i. 5: "The king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace."

between), both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high apiece above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel,[g] and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining-place of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel.[h] And so much for the front: only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter: but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works: on the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers: and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of

[g] The cylinder formed by the small end of the steps of winding stairs.
[h] The funnel of a chimney.

glass, that one cannot tell where to become[i] to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed[k] windows, I hold them of good use (in cities, indeed, upright[l] do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street); for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost through the room doth scarce pass the window: but let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story: on the under story towards the garden, let it be turned to grotto, or place of shade, or estivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground to avoid all dampishness: and let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of this court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, "anticamera,"[m] and "recamera,"[n] joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story, likewise an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that can be thought upon. In the upper gallery, too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances.[o] And thus much for the model of the palace; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a

[i] Where to go.
[k] Bow, or bay, windows.
[l] Flush with the wall.
[m] Antichamber.
[n] Withdrawing-room.
[o] Watercourses.

square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI.—OF GARDENS.

God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works: and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pineapple-trees;[a] fir-trees, rosemary, lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander, flags, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved;[b] and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms: crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the early tulip, the hyacinthus orientalis, chamaïris fritellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilliflower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures; rose-mary-flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene[c] and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in

[a] Pine-trees. [b] Kept warm in a greenhouse.
[c] The damson, or plum of Damascus.

leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marygold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes,[d] figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, genitings,[e] codlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricots, barberries, filberts, musk-melons, monks-hoods, of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones,[f] nectarines, cornelians,[g] wardens,[h] quinces. In October, and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed tc come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have "ver perpetuum,"[i] as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music), than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers[j] of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram; that which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent,[k] which grows upon the cluster in the first coming

[d] Currants.
[e] An apple that is gathered very early.
[f] A kind of quince, so called from "cotoneum," or "cydonium," the Latin name of the quince.
[g] The fruit of the cornel-tree.
[h] The warden was a large pear, so called from its keeping well. Warden-pie was formerly much esteemed in this country.
[i] Perpetual spring.
[j] Flowers that do not send forth their smell at any distance.
[k] A species of grass of the genus argostis.

forth; then sweet-briar, then wallflowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, specially the matted pink and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime-tree; then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers[1] I speak not, because they are field-flowers; but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is, burnet, wild thyme, and water-mints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath, or desert, in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides; and I like well, that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden: but because the alley will be long, and in great heat of the year, or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots, or figures, with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys; you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper

[1] The blossoms of the bean.

hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you;[m] but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting[n] your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too bushy, or full of work; wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banqueting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water: the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it

[m] Bring or lead you. [n] Impeding.

never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern . that the water be never by rest discoloured, green, or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction ; besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand : also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing-pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves : as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images ; the sides likewise ; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre ; encompassed also with fine rails of low statues : but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain ; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little ; and for fine devices, of arching water[o] without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking-glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst ; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses ; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade ; and these to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye ; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium,[p] some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly ; part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without : the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, barberries (but here and there, because of the

[o] Causing the water to fall in a perfect arch, without any spray escaping from the jet.

[p] Lilies of the valley.

smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like: but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade; some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges;[q] and this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive[r] the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast-high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account[s] that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer for the morning and the evening or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost: but it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part,

[q] In rows.

[r] Insidiously subtract nourishment from.

[s] To consider or expect.

taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statues and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII.—OF NEGOTIATING.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go: and generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect[a] the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite,[b] than with those that are where they would be.

[a] Love, are pleased with.

[b] It is more advantageous to deal with men whose desires are not yet satisfied than with those who have gained all they have wished for, and are likely to be proof against inducements.

If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start of first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before: or else a man can persuade the other party, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII.—OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence, that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious[a] followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience, for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed

* In the sense of the Latin "gloriosus," "boastful," "bragging."

espials; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates[b] of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a thing civil and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity: but the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons; and yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able; and besides, to speak truth in base times, active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government, it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due: but contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shows softness,[c] and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure, or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be distracted with many, is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont[d]

[b] Professions or classes.

[c] Weakness or indecision of character.

[d] He probably alludes to the ancient stories of the friendship of Orestes and Pylades, Theseus and Pirithoüs, Damon and Pythias, and others, and the maxims of the ancient Philosophers. Aristotle considers that equality in circumstances and station is one requisite of friendship. Seneca and Quintus Curtius express the same opinion. It seems hardly probable that Lord Bacon reflected deeply when he penned this passage, for between equals, jealousy, the most insidious of all the

to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior,[e] whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX.—OF SUITORS.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds; that intend not performance. Some embrace suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or at least, to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving[a] or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment,

enemies of friendship, has the least chance of originating. Dr. Johnson says:—"Friendship is seldom lasting but between equals, or where the superiority on one side is reduced by some equivalent advantage on the other. Benefits which cannot be repaid, and obligations which cannot be discharged, are not commonly found to increase affection; they excite gratitude indeed, and heighten veneration, but commonly take away that easy freedom and familiarity of intercourse without which, though there may be fidelity, and zeal, and admiration, there cannot be friendship."—*The Rambler*, No. 64.

[e] In such a case, gratitude and admiration exist on the one hand, esteem and confidence on the other.

[a] Lowering, or humiliating.

that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries,[b] for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted[c] with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely,[d] and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place;[e] so far forth[f] consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note,[g] but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit, is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors; but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of the suit is the principal; timing I say not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. "Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras,"[h] is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

[b] Referees.
[c] Disgusted.
[d] Giving no false colour to the degree of success which has attended the prosecution of the suit.
[e] To have little effect.
[f] To this extent.
[g] Of the information.
[h] "Ask what is exorbitant, that you may obtain what is moderate."

L.—OF STUDIES.[a]

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one: but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar: they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read but not curiously;[b] and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy[c] things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy, deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend: "Abeunt studia in

[a] This formed the first Essay in the earliest edition of the work.
[b] Attentively. [c] Vapid; without taste or spirit.

mores;"[d] nay, there is no stand or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head and the like; so if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find difference, let him study the schoolmen; for they are "Cymini sectores."[e] If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI.—OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one: but I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men in their rising must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a great number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called "optimates") held

[d] "Studies become habits."

[e] "Splitters of cummin-seeds;" or, as we now say, "splitters of straws" or "hairs." Butler says of Hudibras—

> "He could distinguish and divide
> A hair 'twixt south and south-west side"

out a while against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions: and therefore, those that are seconds in factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove ciphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter; thinking, belike, that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them,[a] and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth "Padre comune:"[b] and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king "tanquam unus ex nobis;"[c] as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of "primum mobile."[d]

[a] Causes one side to preponderate. [b] "The common father."
[c] "As one of us." Henry III. of France, favouring the League formed by the Duke of Guise and Cardinal De Lorraine against the Protestants, soon found that through the adoption of that policy he had forfeited the respect of his subjects. [d] See a Note to Essay 15.

LII.—OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil; but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true, "That light gains make heavy purses;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals; therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella[a] said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms; to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks; and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state; amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others, is good; so it be with demonstration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another,

[a] Of Castile. She was the wife of Ferdinand of Arragon, and was the patroness of Columbus.

yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, "He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap."[b] A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device,[c] but free for exercise or motion.

LIII.—OF PRAISE.

Praise is the reflection of virtue; but it is glass, or body, which giveth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and nought, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all; but shows and "species virtutibus similes,"[a] serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid; but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith), 'Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis;"[b] it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be

[b] The words in our version are, "He that observeth the wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap."—Ecclesiastes xi. 4.

[c] Exact in the extreme. Point-de-vice was originally the name of a kind of lace of very fine pattern.

[a] "Appearances resembling virtues."

[b] "A good name is like sweet-smelling ointment." The words in our version are, "A good name is better than precious ointment."—Ecclesiastes vii. 1.

so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to, perforce, "spretâ conscientiâ."[c] Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, "laudando præcipere;"[d] when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be; some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; "Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;"[e] insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that, "he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push[f] rise upon his nose;" as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie; certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, "He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse."[g] Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office[h] or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues,[i] and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business; for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, sbirrerie, which is

[c] "Disregarding *his own* conscience."

[d] "To instruct under the form of praise."

[e] "The worst kind of enemies are those who flatter."

[f] A pimple filled with "pus," or "purulent matter." The word is still used in the east of England.

[g] The words in our version are, "He that blesseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him."—Proverbs xxvii. 14.

[h] In other words, to show what we call an *esprit de corps*.

[i] Theologians.

under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, "I speak like a fool;"[k] but speaking of his calling, he saith, "Magnificabo apostolatum meum."[l]

LIV.—OF VAIN GLORY.

It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot-wheel, and said, "What a dust do I raise!" So are there some vain persons, that, whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery[a] stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb "Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit;"—"much bruit,[b] little fruit." Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion[c] and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies; as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either; and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory, one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon

[k] 2 Cor. xi. 23.

[l] "I will magnify my apostleship." He alludes to the words in Romans xi. 13—"Inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office."

[a] Vaunting, or boasting.

[b] Noise. We have a corresponding proverb—"great cry and little wool."

[c] A high or good opinion.

charge[d] and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation: "Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt."[e] Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation: certainly, vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received its due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus,[f] borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, "Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:"[g] for that[h] proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and, in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excusations,[i] cessions,[k] modesty itself, well governed, are but arts of ostentation; and amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection: for, saith Pliny very wittily, "In commending another, you do yourself right;" for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior: if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less." Glorious[l] men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

[d] By express command.

[e] "Those who write books on despising glory set their names in the title-page." He quotes from Cicero's "Tusculanæ Disputationes," b. i. c. 15, whose words are, "Quid nostri philosophi? Nonne in his libris ipsis, quos scribunt de contemnendâ gloriâ, sua nomina inscribunt." —"What do our philosophers do? Do they not, in those very books which they write on despising glory, set their names in the title-page?"

[f] Pliny the Younger, the nephew of the elder Pliny, the naturalist.

[g] "One who set off everything he said and did with a certain skill." Mucianus was an intriguing general in the times of Otho and Vitellius.

[h] Namely, the property of which he was speaking, and not that mentioned by Tacitus.

[i] Apologies. [k] Concessions. [l] Boastful.

LV.—OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

The winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with facets; and therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: "Omnis fama a domesticis emanat."[a] Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek merit than fame: and by attributing a man's successes rather to Divine providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: in the first place are "conditores imperiorum,"[b] founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman,[c] Ismael: in the second place are "legislatores," lawgivers; which are also called second founders, or "perpetui principes,"[d] because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus,

[a] "All fame emanates from servants."

[b] "Founders of empires."

[c] He alludes to Ottoman, or Othman I., the founder of the dynasty now reigning at Constantinople. From him the Turkish empire received the appellation of "Othoman," or "Ottoman" Porte.

[d] "Perpetual rulers."

Solon, Justinian, Edgar,[e] Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the "Siete Partidas:"[f] in the third place are "liberatores," or "salvatores,"[g] such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France: in the fourth place are "propagatores," or "propugnatores imperii,"[h] such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders; and, in the last place, are "patres patriæ,"[i] which reign justly and make the times good wherein they live; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, "participes curarum,"[k] those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands, as we call them; the next are "duces belli,"[l] great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars: the third are "gratiosi," favourites; such as exceed not this scantling,[m] to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people: and the fourth, "negotiis pares;"[n] such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

[e] Surnamed the Peaceful, who ascended the throne of England A.D. 959. He was eminent as a legislator and a rigid assertor of justice. Hume considers his reign "one of the most fortunate that we meet with in the ancient English history."

[f] These were a general collection of the Spanish laws, made by Alphonso X. of Castile, arranged under their proper titles. The work was commenced by Don Ferdinand, his father, to put an end to the contradictory decisions in the Castilian courts of justice. It was divided into seven parts, whence its name "Siete Partidas." It did not, however, become the law of Castile till nearly eighty years after.

[g] "Deliverers," or "preservers."

[h] "Extenders," or "defenders of the empire."

[i] "Fathers of their country."

[k] "Participators in cares."

[l] "Leaders in war."

[m] Proportion, dimensions.

[n] "Equal to their duties."

LVI.—OF JUDICATURE.

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is "jus dicere,"[a] and not "jus dare;"[b] to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law; else will it be like the authority claimed by the Church of Rome, which, under pretext of exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. "Cursed (saith the law[c]) is he that removeth the landmark." The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain: so saith Solomon, "Fons turbatus et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario."[d] The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. "There be (saith the Scripture) that turn judgment into wormwood;" and surely there be, also, that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down

[a] "To expound the law." [b] "To make the law."

[c] The Mosaic law. He alludes to Deuteronomy xxvii. 17—"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark."

[d] "A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring."—Proverbs xxv. 26.

[e] Amos v. 7—"Ye who turn judgment to wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth."

hills: so when there appeareth on either side a high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. "Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;"[f] and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws: especially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, "Pluet super eos laqueos;"[g] for penal laws pressed,[h] are a shower of snares upon the people: therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: "Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum," &c.[i] In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience[j] and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech;

[f] "He who wrings the nose strongly brings blood." Proverbs xxx. 33—"Surely the churning of milk bringeth forth butter, and the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood; so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife."

[g] "He will rain snares upon them." Psalm xi. 6—"Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire, and brimstone, and an horrible tempest."

[h] Strained.

[i] "It is the duty of a judge to consider not only the facts but the circumstances of the case."

[j] Pliny the Younger, Ep. B. 6, E. 2, has the observation—"Patientiam . . . quæ pars magna justitiæ est;"—"Patience, which is a great part of justice."

to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said; and to give the rule, or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory, and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest: but it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not;[k] for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit[l] of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence; and let not the counsel at the bar chop[m] with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half-way nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is a hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench but the foot-pace and precincts, and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, "Grapes (as the Scripture saith) will not be gathered of thorns or thistles;"[n] neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling[o] clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments: first, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell, and the country pine: the second sort is of

[k] Is not successful.
[l] Makes him to feel less confident of the goodness of his cause.
[m] Altercate, or bandy words with the judge.
[n] St. Matthew vii. 16—"Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?"
[o] Plundering.

those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly "amici curiæ,"[p] but "parasiti curiæ,"[q] in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantage: the third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees: which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables,[r] "Salus populi suprema lex;"[s] and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired: therefore it is a happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law; for many times the things deduced to judgment may be "meum"[t] and "tuum,"[u] when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions[x] on

[p] "Friends of the court.
[q] "Parasites," or "flatterers of the court."
[r] Which were compiled by the Decemvirs.
[s] "The safety of the people is the supreme law."
[t] "Mine." [u] "Yours."
[x] He alludes to 1 Kings x. 19, 30—"The throne had six steps, and the top of the throne was round behind: and there were stays on either

both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne: being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs: "Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime."[y]

LVII.—OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery[a] of the Stoics. We have better oracles: "Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger."[b] Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit, "to be angry," may be attempered and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, "that anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls." The Scripture exhorteth us "to possess our souls in patience;"[c] whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

—— "animasque in vulnere ponunt."[d]

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in

side on the place of the seat, and two lions stood beside the stays. And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps." The same verses are repeated in 1 Chronicles ix. 18, 19.

[y] 1 Tim. i. 8—"We know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully."

[a] A boast.

[b] Ephes. iv. 26. In our version it is thus rendered: "Be ye angry and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath."

[c] "In your patience possess ye your souls."—Luke xvi. 19.

[d] "And leave their lives in the wound." The quotation is from Virgil's Georgics, iv. 238.

the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns: children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three: first, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch[e] of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Gonsalvo was wont to say, "Telam honoris crassiorem."[f] But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper;[g] for "communia maledicta"[h] are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society: the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed to incense them; again, by gathering (as we touched

[e] Susceptibility upon.
[f] "A thicker covering for his honour."
[g] Pointed and peculiarly appropriate to the party attacked.
[h] "Ordinary abuse."

before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries; the former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII.—OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Solomon saith, "There is no new thing upon the earth;"[a] so that as Plato[b] had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance; so Solomon giveth his sentence, "That all novelty is but oblivion;"[c] whereby you may see, that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, if it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment: certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople, but destroy. Phaeton's car went but a day; and the three years' drought in the time of Elias,[d] was but particular,[e] and left people alive. As for the

[a] Ecclesiastes i. 9, 10—"The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be: and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us."

[b] In his Phædo.

[c] Ecclesiastes i. 11—"There is no remembrance of former things: neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come hereafter."

[d] 1 Kings xvii. 1—"And Elijah the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead, said unto Ahab, As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years but according to my word." 1 Kings xviii. 1—"And it came to pass after many days, that the word of the Lord came to Elijah, in the third year, saying, Go, show thyself unto Ahab: and I will send rain upon the earth."

[e] Confined to a limited space.

great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies,[f] they are but narrow ;[g] but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past ; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer, or a younger people than the people of the old world ; and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Egyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge ; for earthquakes are seldom in those parts : but on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Europe, are but brooks to them. Their Andes, likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us ; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things ; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities ; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long ; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian,[h] who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude, or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year,[i] if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals (for that is the fume[k] of those that conceive the celestial bodies have

[f] The whole of the continent of America then discovered is included under this name.

[g] Limited.

[h] Sabinianus of Volaterra was elected bishop of Rome on the death of Gregory the Great, A.D. 604. He was of an avaricious disposition, and thereby incurred the popular hatred. He died in eighteen months after his election.

[i] This Cicero speaks of as "the great year of the mathematicians," "On the Nature of the Gods," B. 4, ch. 20. By some it was supposed to occur after a period of 12,954 years, while according to others, it was of 25,920 years' duration.

[k] Conceit.

more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed, and waited upon[l] in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy,[m] which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part), that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weather comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the prime; it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions: for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak, therefore, of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof; all which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is, the giving license to pleasures and a voluptuous life: for as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians),[n] though they work mightily

[l] Observed.

[m] A curious fancy or odd conceit.

[n] The followers of Arminius, or James Harmensen, a celebrated divine of the 16th and 17th centuries. Though called a heresy by

upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states: except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects: by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many; but chiefly in three things: in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the invaders), were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs: the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation: but north and south are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere,[o] or of the great continents that are upon the north; whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars; for great empires,

Bacon, his opinions have been for two centuries, and still are, held by a large portion of the Church of England.

[o] A belief in astrology, or at least the influences of the stars, was almost universal in the time of Bacon.

while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey; so was it in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Almaigne,[p] after Charles the Great,[q] every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost everywhere at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people; but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating: and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidraces, in India; and was that which the Macedonians[r] called thunder and lightning, and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvements are, first, the fetching[s] afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets; secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations,[t] and ancient inventions; the third is, the commodious use of them, as that they may

[p] Germany.
[q] Charlemagne.
[r] When led thither by Alexander the Great.
[s] Striking.
[t] Application of the "aries," or battering-ram.

serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number, rather competent than vast, they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like, and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath its infancy when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and, lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust; but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy: as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY OF FAME.*

THE poets make Fame a monster: they describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously; they say, Look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish; there follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flieth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities; but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother

* This fragment was found among Lord Bacon's papers, and published by Dr. Rawley.

of the giants that made war against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth Fame; for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames and libels are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine; but now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl, and kill them, it is somewhat worth: but we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner, there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame. We will therefore speak of these points: what are false fames, and what are true fames, and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continually giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment; and it is a usual thing with the bashaws to conceal the death of the Grand Turk from the janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them everywhere: therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

ON DEATH.

1. I HAVE often thought upon death, and I find it the least of all evils. All that which is past is as a dream ; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead ; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mothers, until we return to our grandmother the earth, are part of our dying days, whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature, for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others.

2. Physicians in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome. But these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it.

3. I know many wise men that fear to die ; for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it : besides, the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death ; and such are my hopes, that if heaven be pleased, and nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning, that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go per alta ; this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

4. Why should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy soul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is nothing under heaven, saving a true friend (who cannot be counted within the number of movables), unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which must be, nor spend one wish to have one minute added to the uncertain date of my years. It was no mean apprehension of Lucian, who says of Menippus, that in

his travels through hell, he knew not the kings of the earth from other men but only by their louder cryings and tears, which were fostered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had seen, and the fruitful havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: he that was well seated, looked back at his portion, and was loth to forsake his farm; and others, either minding marriages, pleasures, profit, or preferment, desired to be excused from death's banquet: they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the blessings, not the hand that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked ornaments they were arrayed.

5. But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathens' rule, memento mori, and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy it as men prepared to lose, and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune: he that is not slackly strong (as the servants of pleasure), how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaken off her flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shows what finger hath enforced her; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault, and this good guest of ours takes soil in an imperfect body, and so is slackened from showing her wonders, like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

6. But see how I am swerved, and lose my course, touching at the soul that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act; his style is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

This ruler of monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward, in token that he is contrary to life, which being obtained, sends men headlong into this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts, can I compare men more fitly to anything than to the Indian fig-tree, which, being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth, whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock.

So man, having derived his being from the earth, first lives

the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant, and made ripe for death, he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

7. So we see death exempts not a man from being, but only presents an alteration; yet there are some men (I think) that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

And though they themselves shall affirm that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment-day, which sickly uncertainty is the occasion that (for the most part) they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

Thus I gather, that death is unagreeable to most citizens, because they commonly die intestate; this being a rule, that when their will is made, they think themselves nearer a grave than before: now they, out of the wisdom of thousands, think to scare destiny, from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world (accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils): their fortune looks toward them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire (if it be possible) to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing period.

No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

8. Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burthened with grief and irons; to the poor Christian, that sits bound in the galley; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings; to them whose fortune runs back, and whose spirits mutiny: unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest.

These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others to see his star, that they might be led to his place; wooing the remorseless

sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

9. But death is a doleful messenger to a usurer, and fate untimely cuts their thread ; for it is never mentioned by him, but when rumours of war, and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many hands are armed, and the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one (broken in thoughts of his moneys abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house) can be content to think of death, and (being hasty of perdition) will perhaps hang himself, lest his throat should be cut ; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off ; remembering always, that he have time and liberty, by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

For that is a great peace to his end, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

10. Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof of necessity. I am not of those, that dare promise to pine away myself in vain glory, and I hold such to be but feat boldness, and them that dare commit it, to be vain. Yet for my part, I think nature should do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.

To speak truth, no man knows the lists of his own patience ; nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm come (the perfectest virtue being tried in action) : but I would (out of a care to do the best business well) ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

11. And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once ; that is, I would prepare for the messengers of death, sickness and affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the violence of pain.

Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion, that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by

those that are just, and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation?

I have laid up many hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

12. I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man; but briefly, death is a friend of ours; and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to fore-flow the tide; I have but so to make my interest of it as I may account for it; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire any greater place than the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great dispenser of all things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age; that extremity of itself being a disease, and a mere return into infancy: so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, "Such an age is a mortal evil." And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold; but before my friends. The night was even now: but that name is lost; it is not now late, but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as I had died the first hour I was born.

APOPHTHEGMS.

OMITTING THOSE KNOWN TO BE SPURIOUS.

QUEEN Elizabeth, the morrow of her coronation (it being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince), went to the chapel; and in the great chamber, one of her courtiers, who was well known to her, either out of his motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition; and before a great number of courtiers, besought her with a loud voice, that now this good time, there might be four or five principal prisoners more released: those were the four evangelists and the apostle St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in prison; so as they could not converse with the common people. The queen answered very gravely, that it was best first to inquire of them, whether they would be released or no.

Queen Ann Bullen, at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, called one of the king's privy chamber to her, and said unto him, "Commend me to the king, and tell him, that he hath ever been constant in his course of advancing me; from a private gentlewoman he made me a marchioness; and from a marchioness a queen; and now, that he hath left no higher degree of earthly honour, he intends to crown my innocency with the glory of martyrdom."

A great officer in France was in danger to have lost his place; but his wife by her suit and means-making, made his

peace, whereupon a pleasant fellow said, that he had been crush'd, but that he saved himself upon his horns.

When the archduke did raise his siege from the Grave, the then secretary came to Queen Elizabeth. The queen (having first intelligence thereof) said to the secretary, "Wote you that the archduke is risen from the Grave?" He answered: "What, without the trumpet of the archangel?" The queen replied, "Yes; without sound of trumpet."

The council did make remonstrance unto Queen Elizabeth, of the continual conspiracies against her life; and namely, that a man was lately taken, who stood ready in a very dangerous and suspicious manner to do the deed: and they showed her the weapon wherewith he thought to have acted it. And therefore they advised her, that she should go less abroad to take the air, weakly attended, as she used. But the queen answered, that she had rather be dead, than put in custody.

Henry the Fourth of France his queen was young with child; Count Soissons, that had his expectation upon the crown, when it was twice or thrice thought that the queen was with child before, said to some of his friends, that it was but with a pillow. This had some ways come to the king's ear; who kept it till such time as the queen waxed great: then he called the count of Soissons to him, and said, laying his hand upon the queen's belly, "Come, cousin, is this a pillow?" The count of Soissons answered, "Yes, sir, it is a pillow for all France to sleep upon."

Queen Elizabeth was wont to say, upon the commission of sales, that the commissioners used her like strawberry-wives, that layed two or three great strawberries at the mouth of their pot, and all the rest were little ones: so they made her two or three good prizes of the first particulars, but fell straightways.

Queen Elizabeth used to say of her instructions to great officers, that they were like to garments, strait at the first putting on, but did by-and-by wear easy enough.

A great officer at court, when my lord of Essex was first in trouble; and that he, and those that dealt for him, would

talk much of my lord's friends, and of his enemies, answered to one of them: "I will tell you, I know but one friend and one enemy my lord hath; and that one friend is the queen, and that one enemy is himself."

The book of deposing King Richard the Second, and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, supposed to be written by Doctor Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed Queen Elizabeth; and she asked Mr. Bacon, being then of her counsel learned, whether there were any treason contained in it? Who intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the queen's bitterness with a merry conceit, answered, "No, madam, for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but very much felony:" the queen apprehending it gladly, asked, how; and wherein? Mr. Bacon answered, "Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus."

Queen Elizabeth was dilatory enough in suits, of her own nature; and the lord treasurer Burleigh being a wise man, and willing therein to feed her humour, would say to her, "Madam, you do well to let suiters stay; for I shall tell you, bis dat, qui cito dat; if you grant them speedily, they will come again the sooner."

Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was keeper of the great seal of England, when Queen Elizabeth, in her progress, came to his house at Gorhambury, and said to him, "My lord, what a little house have you gotten!" answered her, "Madam, my house is well; but it is you that have made me too great for my house."

The lord-keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon was asked his opinion by Queen Elizabeth, of one of these monopoly licenses? And he answered, "Madam, will you have me speak the truth? Licentia omnes deteriores sumus:"—we are all the worse for licenses.

My lord of Essex, at the succour of Rouen, made twenty-four knights, which at that time was a great number. Divers of those gentlemen were of weak and small means; which, when Queen Elizabeth heard, she said, "My lord might have done well to have built his almshouse, before he made his knights."

The deputies of the reformed religion, after the massacre which was at Paris upon Saint Bartholomew's day, treated with the king and queen-mother, and some other of the council, for a peace. Both sides were agreed upon the articles. The question was, upon the security for the performance. After some particulars propounded and rejected, the queen-mother said, "Why, is not the word of a king sufficient security?" One of the deputies answered, "No, by St. Bartholomew, madam."

When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels: the Lord Henry Howard, being then earl of Northampton, and a counsellor, was omitted. Whereupon the king said to him, "My lord, how happens it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest?" My lord answered, according to the fable in Æsop, "Non sum gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam."

There was a minister deprived for nonconformity, who said to some of his friends, that if they deprived him, it should cost an hundred men's lives. The party understood it, as if being a turbulent fellow, he would have moved sedition, and complained of him; whereupon being convented and opposed upon that speech, he said his meaning was, that if he lost his benefice, he would practise physic, and then he thought he should kill an hundred men in time.

Secretary Bourn's son kept a gentleman's wife in Shropshire, who lived from her husband with him; when he was weary of her, he caused her husband to be dealt with to take her home, and offered him five hundred pounds for reparation; the gentleman went to Sir H. Sidney, to take his advice upon this offer, telling him, that his wife promised now a new life; and to tell him truth, five hundred pounds would come well with him. "By my truth," said Sir Henry Sidney "take her home, and take the money: then whereas other cuckolds wear their horns plain, you may wear yours gilt."

When Rabelais, the great jester of France, lay on his death-bed, and they gave him the extreme unction, a familiar friend of his came to him afterwards, and asked him how he

did? Rabelais answered, "Even going my journey, they have greased my boots already."

Thales, as he looked upon the stars, fell into the water; whereupon it was after said, that if he had looked into the water, he might have seen the stars; but looking up to the stars, he could not see the water.

Master Mason, of Trinity College, sent his pupil to another of the fellows, to borrow a book of him, who told him, "I am loth to lend my books out of my chamber; but if it please thy tutor to come and read it here, he shall as long as he will." It was winter, and some days after the same fellow sent to Mr. Mason to borrow his bellows; but Mr. Mason said, "I am loth to lend my bellows out of my chamber; but if thy tutor would come and use it here, he shall as long as he will."

In Flanders, by accident, a Flemish tiler fell from the top of a house upon a Spaniard, and killed him, though he escaped himself: the next of the blood prosecuted his death with geat violence, and when he was offered pecuniary recompense, nothing would serve him but lex talionis; whereupon the judge said to him, that if he did urge that sentence, it must be, that he should go up to the top of the house, and then fall down upon the tiler.

There was a young man in Rome, that was very like Augustus Cæsar; Augustus took knowledge of him, and sent for the man, and asked him, "Was your mother never at Rome?" He answered, "No, sir, but my father was."

Agesilaus, when one told him there was one did excellently counterfeit a nightingale, and would have had him heard him, said, "Why, I have heard the nightingale herself."

There was a captain sent to an exploit by his general with forces that were not likely to achieve the enterprise; the captain said to him, "Sir, appoint but half so many." "Why?" saith the general. The captain answered, "Because it is better few die than more."

There was a harbinger who had lodged a gentleman in a very ill room, who expostulated with him somewhat rudely;

but the harbinger carelessly said, "You will reap pleasure from it when you are out of it."

There is a Spanish adage, "Love without end hath no end;" meaning, that if it were begun not upon particular ends it would last.

A company of scholars going together to catch conies, carried one scholar with them, which had not much more wit than he was born with; and to him they gave in charge, that if he saw any, he should be silent, for fear of scaring them. But he no sooner espied a company of rabbits before the rest, but he cried aloud, "Ecce multi cuniculi," which in English signifies, behold many conies; which he had no sooner said, but the conies ran to their burrows: and he being checked by them for it, answered, "Who the devil would have thought that the rabbits understood Latin?"

Solon compared the people unto the sea, and orators and counsellors to the winds; for that the sea would be calm and quiet, if the winds did not trouble it.

A man being very jealous of his wife, insomuch that which way soever she went, he would be prying at her heels; and she being so grieved thereat, in plain terms told him, that if he did not for the future leave off his proceedings in that nature, she would graft such a pair of horns upon his head, that should hinder him from coming out of any door in the house.

A tinker passing Cheapside with his usual tone, "Have you any work for a tinker?" An apprentice standing at a door opposite to a pillory there set up, called the tinker, with an intent to put a jest upon him, and told him, that he should do very well if he would stop those two holes in the pillory; to which the tinker answered, that if he would put in his head and ears a while in that pillory, he would bestow both brass and nails upon him to hold him in, and give him his labour into the bargain.

Whitehead, a grave divine, was much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, but not preferred, because he was against the government of bishops: he was of a blunt stoical nature; he came one day to the queen, and the queen happened to say to him, "I like thee the better Whitehead, because thou livest

unmarried!" He answered, "In troth, madam, I like you the worse for the same cause."

Doctor Laud said, that some hypocrites, and seeming mortified men, that held down their heads like bulrushes, were like the little images that they place in the very bowing of the vaults of churches, that look as if they held up the church, but are but puppets.

There was a lady of the west country, that gave great entertainment at her house to most of the gallant gentlemen thereabouts, and amongst others, Sir Walter Rawleigh was one. This lady, though otherwise a stately dame, was a notable good housewife; and in the morning betimes, she called to one of her maids that looked to the swine, and asked, "Are the pigs served?" Sir Walter Rawleigh's chamber was fast by the lady's, so as he heard her; a little before dinner, the lady came down in great state into the great chamber, which was full of gentlemen; and as soon as Sir Walter Rawleigh set eye upon her, "Madam," saith he, "are the pigs served?" The lady answered, "You know best whether you have had your breakfast."

There were fishermen drawing the river at Chelsea: Mr. Bacon came thither by chance in the afternoon, and offered to buy their draught; they were willing. He asked them what they would take? They asked thirty shillings. Mr. Bacon offered them ten. They refused it. "Why, then," saith Mr. Bacon, "I will be only a looker on." They drew, and catched nothing. Saith Mr. Bacon, "Are not you mad fellows now, that might have had an angel in your purse, to have made merry withal, and to have warmed you thoroughly, and now you must go home with nothing?" "Ay, but," saith the fishermen, "we had hope then to make a better gain of it." Saith Mr. Bacon, "Well, my master, then I'll tell you, hope is a good breakfast, but it is a bad supper."

Mr. Bacon, after he had been vehement in parliament against depopulation and inclosures; and that soon after the queen told him, that she had referred the hearing of Mr. Mill's cause to certain counsellors and judges; and asked him how he liked of it? answered, "Oh, madam! my mind is known; I am against all inclosures, and especially against inclosed justice."

When Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper, lived, every room in Gorhambury was served with a pipe of water from the ponds, distant about a mile off. In the lifetime of Mr. Anthony Bacon, the water ceased. After whose death, his lordship coming to the inheritance, could not recover the water without infinite charge; when he was lord chancellor, he built Verulam House, close by the pond-yard, for a place of privacy, when he was called upon to despatch any urgent business. And being asked, why he built that house there; his lordship answered, that since he could not carry the water to his house, he would carry his house to the water.

Zelim was the first of the Ottomans that did shave his beard, whereas his predecessors wore it long. One of his bashaws asked him, why he altered the custom of his predecessors? He answered, "Because you bashaws may not lead me by the beard, as you did them."

Charles, king of Sweden, a great enemy of the Jesuits, when he took any of their colleges, he would hang the old Jesuits, and put the young to his mines, saying, that since they wrought so hard above ground, he would try how they could work under ground.

In chancery, at one time when the counsel of the parties set forth the boundaries of the land in question, by the plot; and the counsel of one part said, "We lie on this side, my lord;" and the counsel of the other part said, "And we lie on this side:" the lord chancellor Hatton stood up and said, "If you lie on both sides, whom will you have me to believe?"

Sir Thomas More had only daughters at the first, and his wife did ever pray for a boy. At last she had a boy, which being come to man's estate, proved but simple. Sir Thomas said to his wife, "Thou prayedst so long for a boy, that he will be a boy as long as he lives."

Sir Thomas More, on the day that he was beheaded, had a barber sent to him, because his hair was long; which was thought, would make him more commiserated with the people. The barber came to him, and asked him, whether he would be pleased to be trimmed? "In good faith, honest fellow," saith Sir Thomas, "the king and I have a suit for my head; and till the title be cleared, I will do no cost upon it."

Mr. Bettenham said, that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not out their sweet smell till they be broken or crushed.

There was a painter became a physician, whereupon one said to him, "You have done well; for before, the faults of your work were seen, but now they are unseen."

There was a gentleman that came to the tilt all in orange-tawny, and ran very ill. The next day he came again all in green, and ran worse. There was one of the lookers-on asked another, "What is the reason that this gentleman changeth his colours?" The other answered, "Sure, because it may be reported, that the gentleman in the green ran worse than the gentleman in the orange-tawny."

Sir Thomas More had sent him by a suitor in chancery, two silver flagons. When they were presented by the gentleman's servant, he said to one of his men, "Have him to the cellar, and let him have of my best wine:" and turning to the servant, said, "Tell thy master, if he like it, let him not spare it."

Michael Angelo, the famous painter, painting in the pope's chapel the portraiture of hell and damned souls, made one of the damned souls so like a cardinal that was his enemy, as everybody at first sight knew it. Whereupon the cardinal complained to Pope Clement, humbly praying it might be defaced. The pope said to him, "Why, you know very well, I have power to deliver a soul out of purgatory, but not out of hell."[a]

Sir Nicholas Bacon, when a certain nimble-witted counsellor at the bar, who was forward to speak, did interrupt him often, said unto him, "There's a great difference betwixt you and me: a pain to me to speak, and a pain to you to hold your peace."

The same Sir Nicholas Bacon, upon bills exhibited to discover where lands lay, upon proof, that they had a certain quantity of land, but could not set it forth, was wont to say, "And if you cannot find your land in the country, how will you have me find it in chancery?"

[a] This was not the portrait of a cardinal, but of the pope's master of ceremonies.

There was a king of Hungary took a bishop in battle, and kept him prisoner; whereupon the pope writ a monitory to him, for that he had broken the privilege of holy church, and taken his son. The king sent an embassage to him, and sent withal the armour wherein the bishop was taken, and this only in writing, "Vide num hæc sit vestis filii tui:"—Know now whether this be thy son's coat.[b]

Sir Amyas Pawlet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, "Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner."

A master of the request to Queen Elizabeth had divers times moved for an audience, and been put off. At last he came to the queen in a progress, and had on a new pair of boots. The queen, who loved not the smell of new leather, said to him, "Fie, sloven, thy new boots stink." "Madam," said he, "it is not my new boots that stink, but it is the stale bills that I have kept so long."

Queen Isabella of Spain used to say, whosoever hath a good presence, and a good fashion, carries continual letters of recommendation.

It was said of Augustus, and afterward the like was said of Septimius Severus, both which did infinite mischief in their beginnings, and infinite good towards their ends, that they should either have never been born or never died.

Constantine the Great, in a kind of envy, himself being a great builder, as Trajan likewise was, would call Trajan parietaria,—wall-flower, because his name was upon so many walls.

Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, in a famine, sold all the rich vessels and ornaments of the church, to relieve the poor with bread; and said, "There was no reason that the dead temples of God should be sumptuously furnished, and the living temples suffer penury."

After a great fight there came to the camp of Gonsalvo, the great captain, a gentleman proudly horsed and armed;

[b] This reply was not made by a king of Hungary, but sent by Richard Cœur de Lion to the pope, with the breastplate of the bishop of Beauvais.

Diego de Mendoza, asked the great captain, "Who's this?" Who answered, "It is Saint Ermin, who never appears but after a storm."

There was one that died greatly in debt: when it was reported in some company, where divers of his creditors casually were, that he was dead: one began to say, "Well, if he be gone, then he hath carried five hundred ducats of mine with him into the other world:" and another said, "And two hundred of mine;" and the third spake of great sums of his. Whereupon, one that was amongst them, said, "I perceive now, that though a man cannot carry any of his own with him into the next world, yet he may carry away that which is another man's."

Bresquet, jester to Francis the First of France, did keep a calendar of fools, wherewith he did use to make the king sport; telling him ever the reason why he put any one into his calendar. When Charles the Fifth, emperor, upon confidence of the noble nature of Francis, passed through France, for the appeasing of the rebellion of Gaunt, Bresquet put him into his calendar. The king asked him the cause. He answered, "Because you have suffered at the hands of Charles the greatest bitterness that ever prince did from another, nevertheless, he would trust his person into your hands." "Why, Bresquet," said the king, "what wilt thou say, if thou seest him pass back in as great safety, as if he marched through the midst of Spain?" Saith Bresquet, "Why then I will put him out, and put in you."

When my lord president of the council came first to be lord treasurer, he complained to my lord chancellor of the troublesomeness of the place, for that the exchequer was so empty. The lord chancellor answered, "My lord, be of good cheer; for now you shall see the bottom of your business at the first."

Rabelais tells a tale of one that was very fortunate in compounding differences. His son undertook the said course, but could never compound any. Whereupon he came to his father, and asked him, what art he had to reconcile differences? He answered, he had no other but this; to watch when the two parties were much wearied, and their hearts were too great to seek reconcilement at one another's

hand; then to be a means betwixt them, and upon no other terms. After which the son went home, and prospered in the same undertakings.

Alonso Cartilio was informed by his steward of the greatness of his expense, being such as he could not hold out therewith. The bishop asked him, wherein it chiefly arose? His steward told him, in the multitude of his servants. The bishop bade him to make him a note of those that were necessary, and those that might be spared. Which he did. And the bishop taking occasion to read it before most of his servants, said to his steward, "Well, let these remain, because I have need of them; and these other also, because they have need of me."

Mr. Bettenham, reader of Gray's-Inn, used to say, that riches were like muck; when it lay upon a heap, it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread over the ground, then it was cause of much fruit.

Galba succeeded Nero, and his age being despised, there was much license and confusion in Rome during his empire; whereupon a senator said in full senate, it were better to live where nothing is lawful, than where all things are lawful.

Chilon said, that kings' friends and favourites were like casting counters; that sometimes stood for one, sometimes for ten, sometimes for an hundred.[c]

Diogenes begging, as divers philosophers then used, did beg more of a prodigal man than of the rest which were present. Whereupon one said to him, "See your baseness, that when you find a liberal mind, you will take most of him." "No," said Diogenes, "but I mean to beg of the rest again."

[c] This is not the saying of Chilon, but of Orontes, the son-in-law of Artaxerxes, who having incurred the displeasure of that monarch, is reported to have exclaimed, in the language of Solon: Καθαπερ οἱ των αριθμητικων δακτυλοι νυν μεν μυριαδας, νυν δε μοναδα τιθεναι δυναται· το αυτο και των βασιλεων φιλους, νυν μεν το παν δυνασθαι, νυν δε τον λαχιστον.—(Plut. Apophthegms.) It is difficult to know whether to assign to this exclamation of Orontes, or to the famous allusion in the Winter Tale, the origin of the modest expression of Lord Brougham, that the Whigs were all ciphers, and he was the only unit in the cabinet which gave the ciphers their value.

Themistocles, when an ambassador from a mean estate did speak great matters, said to him, "Friend, thy words would require a city."

Cæsar Borgia, after long division between him and the lords of Romagna, fell to accord with them. In this accord there was an article, that he should not call them at any time all together in person. The meaning was, that knowing his dangerous nature, if he meant them treason, he might have opportunity to oppress them altogether at once. Nevertheless, he used such fine art, and fair carriage, that he won their confidence to meet altogether in council at Cinigaglia, where he murdered them all. This act, when it was related unto Pope Alexander, his father, by a cardinal, as a thing happy, but very perfidious; the pope said, "It was they that broke their covenant first, in coming all together."

Clodius was acquitted by a corrupt jury, that had palpably taken shares of money before they gave their verdict; they prayed of the senate a guard, that they might do their consciences, for that Clodius was a very seditious young nobleman. Whereupon all the world gave him for condemned. But acquitted he was. Catulus, the next day seeing some of them that had acquitted him together, said to them, "What made you ask of us a guard? Were you afraid your money should have been taken from you?"

At the same judgment, Cicero gave in evidence upon oath: and when the jury, which consisted of fifty-seven, had passed against his evidence, one day in the senate Cicero and Clodius being in altercation, Clodius upbraided him, and said, "The jury gave you no credit." Cicero answered, "Five and twenty gave me credit; but there were two and thirty that gave you no credit, for they had their money beforehand."

Diogenes having seen that the kingdom of Macedon, which before was contemptible and low, began to come aloft, when he died, was asked how he would be buried? He answered, "With my face downward; for within a while the world will be turned upside down, and then I shall lie right."

Cato the elder was wont to say, that the Romans were like sheep; a man could better drive a flock of them, than one of them.

When Lycurgus was to reform and alter the state of Sparta; in consultation, one advised, that it should be reduced to an absolute popular equality: but Lycurgus said to him, "Sir, begin it in your own house."

Bion, that was an atheist, was showed in a port city, in a temple of Neptune, many tables of pictures of such as had in tempests made their vows to Neptune, and were saved from shipwreck: and was asked, "How say you now? Do you not acknowledge the power of the Gods?" But saith he, "Ay; but where are they painted that have been drowned after their vows?"

Cicero was at dinner, where there was an ancient lady that spake of her own years, and said, she was but forty years old. One that sate by Cicero sounded him in the ear, and said, "She talks of forty years old; but she is far more, out of question." Cicero answered him again, "I must believe her; for I have heard her say so many times these ten years."

There was a soldier that vaunted before Julius Cæsar of the hurts he had received in his face. Julius Cæsar, knowing him to be but a coward, told him, "You were best take heed next time you run away, how you look back."

Vespasian asked of Apollonius, what was the cause of Nero's ruin? Who answered, "Nero could tune the harp well, but in government he did always wind up the strings too high, or let them down too low."

Antisthenes being asked of one, what learning was most necessary for man's life? Answered, "To unlearn that which is nought."

Diogenes, when mice came about him, as he was eating, said, "I see, that even Diogenes nourisheth parasites."

Heraclitus the obscure said, "The dry light is the best soul:" meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not drenched, or as it were blooded by the affections.

One of the philosophers was asked, what a wise man differed from a fool? He answered, "Send them both naked to those that know them not, and you shall perceive."

There was a law made by the Romans against the bribery and extortion of the governors of provinces. Cicero saith,

in a speech of his to the people, that he thought the provinces would petition to the state of Rome to have that law repealed. "For," saith he, "before, the governors did bribe and extort, as much as was sufficient for themselves; but now, they bribe and extort as much, as may be enough, not only for themselves, but for the judges, and jurors, and magistrates."

Aristippus sailing in a tempest, showed signs of fear. One of the seamen said to him, in an insulting manner, "We that are plebeians are not troubled; you that are a philosopher are afraid." Aristippus answered, that "There is not the like wager upon it, for you to perish and for me."

It fell out so, that as Livia went abroad in Rome, there met her naked young men that were sporting in the streets, which Augustus went about severely to punish in them: but Livia spake for them, and said, "It was no more to chaste women, than so many statues."

Philip of Macedon was wished to banish one for speaking ill of him. But Philip answered, "Better he speak where we are both known, than where we are both unknown."

Lucullus entertained Pompey in one of his magnificent houses; Pompey said, "This is a marvellous fair and stately house for the summer; but methinks it should be very cold for winter." Lucullus answered, "Do you not think me as wise as divers fowls are, to change my habitation in the winter season?"

Plato entertained some of his friends at a dinner, and had in the chamber a bed, or couch, neatly and costly furnished. Diogenes came in, and got up upon the bed, and trampled it, saying, "I trample upon the pride of Plato." Plato mildly answered, "But with greater pride, Diogenes."

Pompey being commissioner for sending grain to Rome in time of dearth, when he came to the sea, found it very tempestuous and dangerous, insomuch as those about him advised him by no means to embark: but Pompey said, "It is of necessity that I go, not that I live."

Demosthenes was upbraided by Æschines that his speeches did smell of the lamp. But Demosthenes said, "Indeed

there is a great deal of difference between that which you and I do by lamp-light."

Demades the orator, in his age, was talkative, and would eat hard: Antipater would say of him, that he was like a sacrifice, that nothing was left of it but the tongue and the paunch.

Philo Judæus saith, that the sense is like the sun; for the sun seals up the globe of heaven, and opens the globe of earth: so the sense doth obscure heavenly things, and reveals earthly things.

Alexander, after the battle of Granicum, had very great offers made him by Darius: consulting with his captains concerning them, Parmenio said, "Sure I would accept of these offers, if I were as Alexander." Alexander answered, "So would I, if I were as Parmenio."[d]

Augustus Cæsar would say, that he wondered that Alexander feared he should want work, having no more worlds to conquer, as if it were not as hard a matter to keep as to conquer.

Antigonus, when it was told him that the enemy had such volleys of arrows that they did hide the sun, said, "That falls out well, for it is hot weather, and so we shall fight in the shade."[e]

Cato the elder, being aged, buried his wife, and married a young woman. His son came to him, and said, "Sir, what have I offended, that you have brought a stepmother into your house?" The old man answered, "Nay, quite contrary, son; thou pleaseth me so well, as I should be glad to have much more such."

Crassus the orator had a fish which the Romans call Muræna, that he made very tame and fond of him; the fish died, and Crassus wept for it. One day, falling in contention with Domitius in the senate, Domitius said, "Foolish Crassus, you wept for your Muræna." Crassus replied, "That's more than you did for your two wives."

[d] It was after the battle of Issus, and during the siege of Tyre, and not immediately after the passage of the Granicus, that this is said to have occurred.—*Ed.*

[e] This was not said by Antigonus, but by a Spartan, previously to the battle of Thermopylæ.—*Ed.*

Philip, Alexander's father, gave sentence against a prisoner what time he was drowsy, and seemed to give small attention. The prisoner, after sentence was pronounced, said, "I appeal." The king, somewhat stirred, said, "To whom do you appeal?" The prisoner answered, "From Philip when he gave no ear to Philip when he shall give ear."

There was a philosopher that disputed with Adrian the emperor, and did it but weakly. One of his friends that stood by, afterwards said to him, "Methinks you were not like yourself last day, in argument with the emperor; I could have answered better myself." "Why," said the philosopher, "would you have me contend with him that commands thirty legions?"[f]

When Alexander passed into Asia, he gave large donatives to his captains and other principal men of virtue; insomuch as Parmenio asked him, "Sir, what do you keep for yourself?" He answered, "Hope."

There was one that found a great mass of money digged under-ground in his grandfather's house, and being somewhat doubtful of the case, signified it to the emperor, that he had found such treasure. The emperor made a rescript thus: "Use it." He writ back again, that the sum was greater than his state or condition could use. The emperor writ a new rescript, thus: "Abuse it."[g]

Julius Cæsar, as he passed by, was, by acclamation of some that stood in the way, termed king, to try how the people would take it. The people showed great murmur and distaste at it. Cæsar finding where the wind stood, slighted it, and said, "I am not king, but Cæsar;" as if they had mistaken his name: for rex was a surname amongst the Romans, as king is with us.

When Crœsus, for his glory, showed Solon his great treasures of gold, Solon said to him, "If another king come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold."

[f] This happened under Augustus Cæsar, and not during the reign of Hadrian.—*Ed.*

[g] This happened to the father of Herodes Atticus, and the answer was made by the Emperor Nerva.—*Ed.*

Aristippus being reprehended of luxury, by one that was not rich, for that he gave six crowns for a small fish, answered, "Why, what would you have given?" The other said, "Some twelve pence." Aristippus said again, "And six crowns is no more with me."

Plato reprehended severely a young man for entering into a dissolute house. The young man said to him, "Why do you reprehend so sharply for so small a matter?" Plato replied, "But custom is no small matter."

Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, having received from Philip, king of Macedon (after Philip had won the victory of Chæronea, upon the Athenians), proud letters, writ back to him, that if he measured his own shadow, he would find it no longer than it was before his victory.

Pyrrhus, when his friends congratulated to him his victory over the Romans, under the conduct of Fabricius, but with great slaughter of his own side, said to them again, "Yes, but if we have such another victory, we are undone."

Plato was wont to say of his master Socrates, that he was like the apothecaries' gallipots, that had on the outsides apes, owls, and satyrs, but within, precious drugs.

Alexander sent to Phocion a great present of money. Phocion said to the messenger, "Why doth the king send to me, and to none else?" The messenger answered, "Because he takes you to be the only good man in Athens." Phocion replied, "If he thinks so, pray let him suffer me to be so still."

At a banquet, where those that were called the seven wise men of Greece were invited by the ambassador of a barbarous king, the ambassador related, that there was a neighbour mightier than his master, picked quarrels with him, by making impossible demands; otherwise threatening war; and now at that present had demanded of him to drink up the sea. Whereunto one of the wise men said, "I would have him undertake it." "Why," said the ambassador, "how shall he come off?" "Thus," saith the wise man; "let the king first stop the rivers which run into the sea, which are no part of the bargain, and then your master will perform it."

Hanno the Carthaginian was sent commissioner by the

state, after the second Carthaginian war, to supplicate for peace, and in the end obtained it; yet one of the sharper senators said, "You have often broken with us the peace, whereunto you have sworn; I pray, by what god will you swear?" Hanno answered, "By the same gods that punished the former perjury so severely."

One of the seven was wont to say, that laws were like cobwebs, where the small flies were caught, and the great brake through.[h]

Lewis the Eleventh of France, having much abated the greatness and power of the peers, nobility, and court of parliament, would say, that he had brought the crown out of ward.

There was a cowardly Spanish soldier, that in a defeat that the Moors gave, ran away with the foremost. Afterwards, when the army generally fled, this soldier was missing. Whereupon it was said by some, that he was slain. "No, sure," saith one, "he is alive; for the Moors eat no hare's flesh."

One was saying, that his great-grandfather, and grandfather, and father, died at sea. Said another, that heard him, "And I were as you, I would never come at sea." "Why," saith he, "where did your great-grandfather, and grandfather, and father die?" He answered, "Where, but in their beds?" He answered, "And I were as you, I would never come in bed."

There was a dispute, whether great heads or little heads had the better wit? And one said, "It must needs be the little; for that it is a maxim, Omne majus continet in se minus."

Sir Thomas More, when the counsel of the party pressed him for a longer day to perform the decree, said, "Take Saint Barnaby's-day, which is the longest day in the year." Now, Saint Barnaby's-day was within a few days following.

There was an Epicurean vaunted, that divers of other sects of philosophers did after turn Epicureans; but there was never any Epicureans that turned to any other sect. Whereupon a philosopher, that was of another sect, said,

[h] This was said by Anacharsis the Scythian, and not by a Greek.—*Ed.*

the reason was plain, for that cocks may be made capons; but capons could never be made cocks.

Chilon would say, that gold was tried with the touchstone, and men with gold.

Mr. Popham (afterwards Lord Chief Justice Popham), when he was speaker, and the House of Commons had sate long, and done in effect nothing, coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him, "Now, Mr. Speaker, what hath passed in the Commons House?" He answered, "If it please your Majesty, seven weeks."

Themistocles, in his lower fortune, was in love with a young gentleman who scorned him; but when he grew to his greatness, which was soon after, he sought him: Themistocles said, "We are both grown wise, but too late."

Aristippus was earnest suitor to Dionysius for some grant, who would give no ear to his suit. Aristippus fell at his feet, and then Dionysius granted it. One that stood by said afterwards to Aristippus, "You, a philosopher, and be so base as to throw yourself at the tyrant's feet to get a suit!" Aristippus answered, "The fault is not mine; but the fault is in Dionysius, that carries his ears in his feet."

Solon being asked, whether he had given the Athenians the best laws? answered, "The best of those that they would have received."

One said to Aristippus, "'Tis a strange thing, why men should rather give to the poor, than to philosophers." He answered, "Because they think themselves may sooner come to be poor, than to be philosophers."

Trajan would say of the vain jealousy of princes, that seek to make away those that aspire to their succession, that there was never king that did put to death his successor.

Alexander used to say of his two friends, Craterus and Hephæstion, that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the king.

One of the fathers saith, that there is but this difference between the death of old men and young men; that old men go to death, and death comes to young men.

Jason the Thessalian was wont to say, that some things must be done unjustly, that many things may be done justly.

Demetrius, king of Macedon, would at times retire himself from business, and give himself wholly to pleasures. On one of those his retirings, giving out that he was sick, his father, Antigonus, came on the sudden to visit him, and met a fair dainty youth coming out of his chamber. When Antigonus came in, Demetrius said, "Sir, the fever left me right now." Antigonus replied, "I think it was he that I met at the door."

Cato major would say, that wise men learned more by fools than fools by wise men.

When it was said to Anaxagoras, "The Athenians have condemned you to die," he replied, "And nature them."

Alexander, when his father wished him to run for the prize of the race of the Olympian games (for he was very swift), answered, he would, if he might run with kings.

Antigonus used often to go disguised, and to listen at the tents of his soldiers; and at a time heard some that spoke very ill of him. Whereupon he opened the tent a little, and said to them, "If you would speak ill of me, you should go a little farther off."

Aristippus said, that those that studied particular sciences, and neglected philosophy, were like Penelope's wooers, that made love to the waiting-woman.

The ambassadors of Asia Minor came to Antonius, after he had imposed upon them a double tax, and said plainly to him, that if he would have two tributes in one year, he must give them two seedtimes, and two harvests.

An orator of Athens said to Demosthenes, "The Athenians will kill you if they wax mad:" Demosthenes replied, "And they will kill you, if they be in good sense."[1]

Epictetus used to say, that one of the vulgar, in any ill that happens to him, blames others; a novice in philosophy blames himself; and a philosopher blames neither the one nor the other.

Cato the elder, what time many of the Romans had statues erected in their honour, was asked by one, in a kind of wonder, why he had none? He answered, he had much

[1] This was not said by Demosthenes, but to Demosthenes by Phocion. —*Ed.*

rather men should ask and wonder why he had no statue, than why he had a statue.

A certain friend of Sir Thomas More, taking great pains about a book, which he intended to publish (being well conceited of his own wit, which no man else thought worthy of commendation), brought it to Sir Thomas More to peruse it, and pass his judgment upon it, which he did; and finding nothing therein worthy the press, he said to him, with a grave countenance, that if it were in verse, it would be more worthy. Upon which words, he went immediately and turned it into verse, and then brought it to Sir Thomas again; who, looking thereon, said soberly, "Yes, marry, now it is somewhat; for now it is rhyme; whereas before, it was neither rhyme nor reason."

Sir Henry Wotton used to say, that critics were like brushers of noblemen's clothes.

Phocion the Athenian (a man of great severity, and no ways flexible to the will of the people), one day, when he spake to the people, in one part of his speech, was applauded; whereupon, he turned to one of his friends, and asked, "What have I said amiss?"

Diogenes was one day in the market-place, with a candle in his hand, and being asked what he sought? he said, he sought a man.

Queen Elizabeth was entertained by my Lord Burleigh at Theobalds; and at her going away, my lord obtained of the queen, to make seven knights. They were gentlemen of the country, of my lord's friends and neighbours. They were placed in a rank, as the queen should pass by the hall; and to win antiquity of knighthood, in order as my lord favoured, though, indeed, the more principal gentlemen were placed lowest. The queen was told of it, and said nothing; but when she went along, she passed them all by, as far as the skreen, as if she had forgot it; and when she came to the skreen, she seemed to take herself with the manner, and said, "I had almost forgot what I promised." With that she turned back, and knighted the lowest first, and so upward. Whereupon Mr. Stanhope, of the privy-chamber, a while after told her, "Your Majesty was too fine for my Lord Burleigh."

She answered, "I have but fulfilled the Scripture: the first shall be last, and the last first."

Bion was sailing, and there fell out a great tempest, and the mariners that were wicked and dissolute fellows called upon the gods; but Bion said to them, "Peace, let them not know you are here."

The Turks made an expedition into Persia; and because of the strait jaws of the mountains of Armenia, the bashaw consulted which way they should get in. One that heard the debate said, "Here's much ado how you shall get in; but I hear nobody take care how you should get out."

Philip, king of Macedon, maintained arguments with a musician, in points of his art, somewhat peremptorily; but the musician said to him, "God forbid, Sir, your fortune were so hard, that you should know these things better than myself."

Pace the fool was not suffered to come at Queen Elizabeth, because of his bitter humour. Yet at one time, some persuaded the queen that he should come to her; undertaking for him, that he should keep within compass; so he was brought to her, and the queen said, "Come on, Pace, now we shall hear of our faults." Saith Pace, "I do not use to talk of that that all the town talks of."

After the defeat of Cyrus the younger, Falinus was sent by the king to the Grecians (who had for their part rather victory than otherwise), to command them to yield their arms; which, when it was denied, Falinus said to Clearchus, "Well, then, the king lets you know, that if you remove from the place where you are now encamped, it is war; if you stay, it is truce. What shall I say you will do?" Clearchus answered, "It pleaseth us, as it pleaseth the king." "How is that?" saith Falinus. Saith Clearchus, "If we remove, war; if we stay, truce:" and so would not disclose his purpose.

Nero was wont to say of his master Seneca, that his style was like mortar without lime.

A seaman coming before the judges of the Admiralty for admittance into an office of a ship bound for the Indies, was by one of the judges much slighted, as an insufficient person

for that office he sought to obtain ; the judge telling him, that he believed he could not say the points of his compass. The seaman answered, that he could say them, under favour, better than he could say his Paternoster. The judge replied, that he would wager twenty shillings with him upon that. The seaman taking him up, it came to trial ; and the seaman began, and said all the points of his compass very exactly ; the judge likewise said his Paternoster ; and when he had finished it, he required the wager according to agreement, because the seaman was to say his compass better than he his Paternoster, which he had not performed. "Nay, I pray sir, hold," quoth the seaman, "the wager is not finished, for I have but half done :" and so he immediately said his compass backward very exactly ; which the judge failing of in his Paternoster, the seaman carried away the prize.

Sir Fulke Grevil had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good : yet he would say merrily of himself, that he was like Robin Goodfellow ; for when the maids spilt the milk-pans, or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin : so what tales the ladies about the queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him.

Cato said, the best way to keep good acts in memory, was to refresh them with new.

Aristippus said, he took money of his friends, not so much to use it himself, as to teach them how to bestow their money.

A strumpet said to Aristippus, that she was with child by him ; he answered, "You know that no more, than if you went through a hedge of thorns, you could say, this thorn pricked me."

Democritus said, that truth did lie in the profound pits, and when it was got, it needed much refining.

Diogenes said of a young man that danced daintily, and was much commended, "The better, the worse."

Diogenes seeing one that was a bastard casting stones among the people, bade him take heed he hit not his father.

Plutarch said well, "It is otherwise in a commonwealth of

men than of bees; the hive of a city or kingdom is in best condition, when there is least of noise or buzz in it."

The same Plutarch said of men of weak abilities set in great place, that they were like little statues set on great bases, made to appear the less by their advancement.

He said again, "Good fame is like fire: when you have kindled it, you may easily preserve it; but if you once extinguish it, you will not easily kindle it again."

Queen Elizabeth seeing Sir Edward —— in her garden, looked out at her window, and asked him in Italian, "What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?" Sir Edward (who had not had the effect of some of the queen's grants so soon as he had hoped and desired) paused a little, and then made answer, "Madam, he thinks of a woman's promise." The queen shrunk in her head, but was heard to say, "Well, Sir Edward, I must not confute you. Anger makes dull men witty, but it keeps them poor."

When any great officer, ecclesiastical or civil, was to be made, the queen would inquire after the piety, integrity, and learning of the man. And when she was satisfied in these qualifications, she would consider of his personage. And upon such an occasion she pleased once to say to me, "Bacon, how can the magistrate maintain his authority when the man is despised?"

In eighty-eight, when the queen went from Temple-bar along Fleet-street, the lawyers were ranked on one side, and the companies of the city on the other; said Master Bacon to a lawyer that stood next to him, "Do but observe the courtiers; if they bow first to the citizens, they are in debt; if first to us, they are in law."

A Grecian captain advising the confederates that were united against the Lacedæmonians, touching their enterprise, gave opinion, that they should go directly upon Sparta, saying, that the state of Sparta was like rivers; strong when they had run a great way, and weak toward their head.

One was examined upon certain scandalous words spoken against the king. He confessed them, and said, "It is true, I spake them, and if the wine had not failed, I had said much more."

Charles the Bald allowed one, whose name was Scottus, to sit at the table with him for his pleasure. Scottus sate on the other side of the table. One time the king being merry with him, said to him, "What is there between Scot and Sot?" Scottus answered, "The table only."

There was a marriage made between a widow of great wealth, and a gentleman of great house, that had no estate or means. Jack Roberts said, that marriage was like a black pudding; the one brought blood, and the other brought suet and oatmeal.

Diogenes was asked in a kind of scorn, What was the matter, that philosophers haunted rich men, and not rich men philosophers? He answered, "Because the one knew what they wanted, the other did not."

Demetrius, king of Macedon, had a petition offered him divers times by an old woman, and answered, he had no leisure. Whereupon, the woman said aloud, "Why, then, give over to be king."[k]

When King Edward the Second was amongst his torturers, who hurried him to and fro, that no man should know where he was, they set him down upon a bank; and one time, the more to disguise his face, shaved him, and washed him with cold water of a ditch by. The king said, "Well, yet I will have warm water for my beard;" and so shed abundance of tears.

King James was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country houses. And sometimes he would say thus to them: "Gentlemen, at London, you are like ships at sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages, you are like ships in a river, which look like great things."

Count Gondomar sent a compliment to my Lord St. Alban, wishing him a good Easter. My lord thanked the messenger, and said, he could not at present requite the count better than in returning him the like; that he wished his lordship a good Passover.

[k] This did not happen to Demetrius, but to Philip, king of Macedon. Bacon repeats the anecdote in the first book of the Novum Organum, but without stating any name.—*Ed.*

My Lord Chancellor Elsmere, when he had read a petition which he disliked, would say, "What, you would have my hand to this now?" And the party answering, "Yes," he would say farther, "Well, so you shall; nay, you shall have both my hands to it." And so would, with both his hands tear it in pieces.

Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say of an angry man who suppressed his passion, that he thought worse than he spoke; and of an angry man that would chide, that he spoke worse than he thought.

When Mr. Attorney Coke, in the Exchequer, gave high words to Sir Francis Bacon, and stood much upon the higher place, Sir Francis said to him, "Mr. Attorney, the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I shall think of it; and the more, the less."

Sir Francis Bacon (who was always for moderate counsels), when one was speaking of such a reformation of the Church of England as would in effect make it no church, said thus to him: "Sir, the subject we talk of is the eye of England, and if there be a speck or two in the eye, we endeavour to take them off; but he were a strange oculist who would pull out the eye."

The same Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say, that those who left useful studies for useless scholastic speculations, were like the Olympic gamesters, who abstained from necessary labours, that they might be fit for such as were not so.

The Lord St. Albans, who was not over-hasty to raise theories, but proceeded slowly by experiments, was wont to say to some philosophers, who would not go his pace, "Gentlemen, nature is a labyrinth, in which the very haste you move with, will make you lose your way."

The same lord, when a gentleman seemed not much to approve of his liberality to his retinue, said to him, "Sir, I am all of a piece; if the head be lifted up, the inferior parts of the body must too."

The Lord Bacon was wont to commend the advice of the plain old man at Buxton, that sold besoms; a proud, lazy young fellow came to him for a besom upon trust; to whom the old man said, "Friend, hast thou no money? Borrow of

thy back, and borrow of thy belly, they'll ne'er ask thee again, I shall be dunning thee every day."

Jack Weeks said of a great man (just then dead), who pretended to some religion, but was none of the best livers, "Well, I hope he is in heaven. Every man thinks as he wishes; but if he be in heaven, 'twere pity it were known."

His lordship, when he had finished this collection of apophthegms, concluded thus: "Come, now all is well; they say, he is not a wise man that will lose his friend for his wit; but he is less a wise man that will lose his friend for another man's wit."

ORNAMENTA RATIONALIA:

OR

ELEGANT SENTENCES.

Aleator, quanto in arte est melior, tanto est nequior—A gamester, the greater master he is in his art, the worse man he is.

Arcum, intensio frangit; animum, remissio—Much bending breaks the bow; much unbending, the mind.

Bis vincit, qui se vincit in victoria—He conquers twice, who restrains himself in victory.

Cum vitia prosint, peccat qui recte facit—If vices were profitable, the virtuous man would be the sinner.

Bene dormit, qui non sentit quod male dormiat—He sleeps well, who is not conscious that he sleeps ill.

Deliberare utilia, mora est tutissima—To deliberate about useful things is the safest delay.

Dolor decrescit, ubi quo crescat non habet—The flood of grief decreaseth, when it can swell no higher.

Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor—Pain makes even the innocent man a liar.

Etiam celeritas in desiderio, mora est—In desire, swiftness itself is delay.

Etiam capillus unus habet umbram suam—Even a single hair casts a shadow.

Fidem qui perdit, quo se servat in reliquum?—He that has lost his faith, what staff has he left?

Formosa facies muta commendatio est—A beautiful face is a silent commendation.

Fortuna nimium quem fovet, stultum facit—Fortune makes him fool, whom she makes her darling.

Fortuna obesse nulli contenta est semel—Fortune is not content to do a man one ill turn.

Facit gratum fortuna, quem nemo videt—The fortune which nobody sees makes a man happy and unenvied.

Heu! quam miserum est ab illo lædi, de quo non possis queri—O! what a miserable thing it is to be injured by those of whom we cannot complain.

Homo toties moritur quoties amittit suos—A man dies as often as he loses his friends.

Hæredis fletus sub persona risus est—The tears of an heir are laughter under a mask.

Jucundum nihil est, nisi quod reficit varietas—Nothing is pleasant which is not spiced with variety.

Invidiam ferre, aut fortis, aux felix potest—He may be envied, who is either courageous or happy.

In malis sperare bonum, nisi innocens, nemo potest—In adversity, only the virtuous can entertain hope.

In vindicando, criminosa est celeritas—In revenge, haste is criminal.

In calamitoso risus etiam injuria est—In misfortune, even to smile is to offend.

Improbe Neptunum accusat, qui iterum naufragium facit—He accuseth Neptune unjustly, who incurs shipwreck a second time.

Multis minatur, qui uni facit injuriam—He that injures one, threatens many.

Mora omnis ingrata est, sed facit sapientiam—All delay is unpleasant, but we are the wiser for it.

Mori est felicis antequam mortem invocet—Happy he who dies ere he calls on death.

Malus ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimus—A bad man is worst when he pretends to be a saint.

Magno cum periculo custoditur, quod multis placet—Lock and key will scarce keep that secure which pleases everybody.

Male vivunt qui se semper victuros putant—They live ill, who think to live for ever.

Male secum agit æger, medicum qui hæredem facit—That sick man does ill for himself, who makes his physician his heir.

Multos timere debet, quem multi timent—He of whom many are afraid, ought himself to fear many.

Nulla tam bona est fortuna, de qua nil possis queri—There's no fortune so good, but it has its alloy.

Pars beneficii est quod petitur, si bene neges—That is half granted which is denied graciously.

Timidus vocat se cautum, parcum sordidus—The coward calls himself a cautious man; and the miser says, he is frugal.

O vita! misero longa, felici brevis—O life! an age to the miserable, a moment to the happy.

The following are sentences extracted from the writings of Lord Bacon :—

It is a strange desire which men have, to seek power and lose liberty.

Children increase the cares of life : but they mitigate the remembrance of death.

Round dealing is the honour of man's nature ; and a mixture of falsehood is like alloy in gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it debaseth it.

Death openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more a man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out.

He that studieth revenge, keepeth his own wounds green.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things which belong to adversity are to be admired.

He that cannot see well, let him go softly.

If a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery; as the more close air sucketh in the more open.

Keep your authority wholly from your children, not so your purse.

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise. For the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

As in nature things move more violently to their place, and calmly in their place: so virtue in ambition is violent; in authority, settled and calm.

Boldness in civil business, is like pronunciation in the orator of Demosthenes; the first, second, and third thing.

Boldness is blind: whereof 'tis ill in counsel, but good in execution. For in counsel it is good to see dangers, in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

Without goodnature, man is but a better kind of vermin.

God never wrought miracles to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it.

The great atheists indeed are hypocrites, who are always handling holy things, but without feeling, so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.

The master of superstition is the people. And in all superstition, wise men follow fools.

In removing superstitions, care should be had, that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad; which commonly is done, when the people is the physician.

He that goeth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel.

It is a miserable state of mind (and yet it is commonly the case of kings) to have few things to desire, and many to fear.

Depression of the nobility may make a king more absolute, but less safe.

All precepts concerning kings are, in effect, comprehended in these remembrances: Remember thou art a man; remember thou art God's vicegerent. The one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

Things will have their first or second agitation. If they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune.

The true composition of a counsellor, is rather to be skilled in his master's business than his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour.

Fortune sometimes turneth the handle of the bottle, which is easy to be taken hold of; and after the belly, which is hard to grasp.

Generally it is good to commit the beginning of all great actions to Argus with an hundred eyes; and the ends of them to Briareus with an hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed.

There is a great difference betwixt a cunning man and a wise man. There be that can pack the cards, who yet can t play well; they are good in canvasses and factions, and yet otherwise mean men.

Extreme self-lovers will set a man's house on fire, though it were but to roast their eggs.

New things, like strangers, are more admired and less favoured.

It were good that men, in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived.

They that reverence too much old time, are but a scorn to the new.

The Spaniards and Spartans have been noted to be of small despatch. Mi venga la muerte de Spagna—Let my

death come from Spain ; for then it will be sure to be long a-coming.

You had better take for business a man somewhat absurd, than over-formal.

Those who want friends to whom to open their griefs, are cannibals of their own hearts.

Number itself importeth not much in armies, where the people are of weak courage ; for (as Virgil says) it never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.

Let states, that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentry multiply too fast. In coppice woods, if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes.

A civil war is like the heat of a fever ; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health.

Suspicions among thoughts are like bats among birds, they ever fly by twilight.

Base natures, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true.

Men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory.

Discretion in speech is more than eloquence.

Men seem neither well to understand their riches, nor their strength ; of the former they believe greater things than they should and of the latter much less. And from hence fatal pillars have bounded the progress of learning.

Riches are the baggage of virtue ; they cannot be spared nor left behind, but they hinder the march.

Great riches have sold more men than ever they have bought out.

He that defers his charity till he is dead, is (if a man weighs it rightly) rather liberal of another man's, than of his own.

Ambition is like choler ; if he can move, it makes men

active; if it be stopped, it becomes adust, and makes men melancholy.

To take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs.

Some ambitious men seem as screens to princes in matters of danger and envy. For no man will take such parts, except he be like the seel'd dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him.

Princes and states should choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than rising; and should discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

If a man look sharp and attentively, he shall see fortune; for though she be blind, she is not invisible.

Usury bringeth the treasure of the realm or state into a few hands: for the usurer being at certainties, and the others at uncertainties; at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box.

Beauty is best in a body that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. The beautiful prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study, for the most part, rather behaviour than virtue.

The best part of beauty, is that which a picture cannot express.

He who builds a fair house upon an ill seat, commits himself to prison.

If you would work on any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weaknesses and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him.

Costly followers (among whom we may reckon those who are importunate in suits) are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he maketh his wings shorter.

Fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid.

Seneca saith well, that anger is like rain, that breaks itself upon that it falls.

Excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation.

High treason is not written in ice ; that when the body relenteth, the impression should go away.

The best governments are always subject to be like the fairest crystals, when every icicle or grain is seen, which in a fouler stone is never perceived.

In great place ask counsel of both times : of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest.

The virtue of prosperity is temperance, of adversity fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer revelation of God's favour.

SHORT NOTES FOR CIVIL CONVERSATION.

deceive men's expectations generally (with cautel), argueth a staid mind, and unexpected constancy; viz. in matters of fear, anger, sudden joy or grief, and all things which may affect or alter the mind in public or sudden accidents, or such like.

It is necessary to use a steadfast countenance, not waving with action, as in moving the head or hand too much, which showeth a fantastical light and fickle operation of the spirit, and consequently like mind as gesture : only it is sufficient, with leisure, to use a modest action in either.

In all kinds of speech, either pleasant, grave, severe, or ordinary, it is convenient to speak leisurely, and rather drawingly, than hastily ; because hasty speech confounds the memory, and oftentimes (besides unseemliness) drives a man either to a nonplus or unseemly stammering, harping upon that which should follow ; whereas a slow speech confirmeth the memory, addeth a conceit of wisdom to the hearers, besides a seemliness of speech and countenance.

To desire in discourse to hold all arguments, is ridiculous, wanting true judgment; for in all things no man can be exquisite.

To have common-places to discourse, and to want variety, is both tedious to the hearers, and shows a shalowness of conceit; therefore it is good to vary, and suit speeches with the present occasions; and to have a moderation in all our speeches, especially in jesting, of religion, state, great persons, weighty and important business, poverty, or anything deserving pity.

To use many circumstances, ere you come to matter, is wearisome: and to use none at all, is but blunt.

Bashfulness is a great hinderance to a man, both of uttering his conceit, and understanding what is propounded unto him; wherefore, it is good to press himself forwards with discretion, both in speech, and company of the better sort.

Usus promptos facit.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

A SERIES OF MYTHOLOGICAL FABLES.[a]

PREFACE.

THE earliest antiquity lies buried in silence and oblivion, excepting the remains we have of it in sacred writ. This silence was succeeded by poetical fables, and these, at length, by the writings we now enjoy; so that the concealed and secret learning of the ancients seems separated from the history and knowledge of the following ages by a veil, or partition-wall of fables, interposing between the things that are lost and those that remain.[b]

Many may imagine that I am here entering upon a work of fancy, or amusement, and design to use a poetical liberty, in explaining poetical fables. It is true, fables in general are composed of ductile matter, that may be drawn into great variety by a witty talent or an inventive genius, and be delivered of plausible meanings which they never contained. But this procedure has already been carried to excess; and great numbers, to procure the sanction of antiquity to their own notions and inventions, have miserably wrested and abused the fables of the ancients.

Nor is this only a late or unfrequent practice, but of ancient date, and common even to this day. Thus Chrysippus, like an interpreter of dreams, attributed the opinions of the Stoics to the poets of old; and the chemists, at present, more childishly apply the poetical transformations to their experiments of the furnace. And though I have well weighed and considered all this, and thoroughly seen into the levity which the mind indulges for allegories and allusions, yet I cannot but retain a high value for the ancient mythology. And, certainly, it were very injudi-

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[a] Most of these fables are contained in Ovid's Metamorphoses and Fasti, and are fully explained in Bohn's Classical Library translation.

[b] Varro distributes the ages of the world into three periods; viz. the unknown, the fabulous, and the historical. Of the former we have no accounts but in Scripture; for the second we must consult the ancient poets, such as Hesiod, Homer, or those who wrote still earlier, and then again come back to Ovid, who, in his Metamorphoses, seems, in imitation perhaps of some ancient Greek poet, to have intended a complete collection, or a kind of continued and connected history of the fabulous age, especially with regard to changes, revolutions, or transformations.

sious to suffer the fondness and licentiousness of a few to detract from the honour of allegory and parable in general. This would be rash, and almost profane; for, since religion delights in such shadows and disguises, to abolish them were, in a manner, to prohibit all intercourse betwixt things divine and human.

Upon deliberate consideration, my judgment is, that a concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient fables. This opinion may, in some respect, be owing to the veneration I have for antiquity, but more to observing that some fables discover a great and evident similitude, relation, and connection with the thing they signify, as well in the structure of the fable as in the propriety of the names whereby the persons or actors are characterized; insomuch, that no one could positively deny a sense and meaning to be from the first intended, and purposely shadowed out in them. For who can hear that Fame, after the giants were destroyed, sprung up as their posthumous sister, and not apply it to the clamour of parties and the seditious rumours which commonly fly about for a time upon the quelling of insurrections? Or who can read how the giant Typhon cut out and carried away Jupiter's sinews—which Mercury afterwards stole and again restored to Jupiter—and not presently observe that this allegory denotes strong and powerful rebellions, which cut away from kings their sinews, both of money and authority; and that the way to have them restored is by lenity, affability, and prudent edicts, which soon reconcile, and as it were steal upon the affections of the subject? Or who, upon hearing that memorable expedition of the gods against the giants, when the braying of Silenus's ass greatly contributed in putting the giants to flight, does not clearly conceive that this directly points at the monstrous enterprises of rebellious subjects, which are frequently frustrated and disappointed by vain fears and empty rumours?

Again, the conformity and purport of the names is frequently manifest and self-evident. Thus Metis, the wife of Jupiter, plainly signifies counsel; Typhon, swelling; Pan, universality; Nemesis, revenge, &c. Nor is it a wonder, if sometimes a piece of history or other things are introduced, by way of ornament; or if the times of the action are confounded; or if part of one fable be tacked to another; or if the allegory be new turned; for all this must necessarily happen, as the fables were the inventions of men who lived in different ages and had different views; some of them being ancient, others more modern; some having an eye to natural philosophy, and others to morality or civil policy.

It may pass for a farther indication of a concealed and secret meaning, that some of these fables are so absurd and idle in their narration as to show and proclaim an allegory, even afar off. A fable that carries probability with it may be supposed invented for pleasure, or in imitation of history; but those that could never be conceived or related in this way must surely have a different use. For example, what a monstrous fiction is this, that Jupiter should take Metis to wife, and as soon as he found her pregnant eat her up, whereby he also conceived, and out of his head brought forth Pallas armed. Certainly no mortal could, but for the sake of the moral it couches, invent such an absurd dream as this, so much out of the road of thought!

But the argument of most weight with me is this, that many of these

fables by no means appear to have been invented by the persons who relate and divulge them, whether Homer, Hesiod, or others; for if I were assured they first flowed from those later times and authors that transmit them to us, I should never expect anything singularly great or noble from such an origin. But whoever attentively considers the thing, will find that these fables are delivered down and related by those writers, not as matters then first invented and proposed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages. Besides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the same ages, it is easily perceived that the relators drew from the common stock of ancient tradition, and varied but in point of embellishment, which is their own. And this principally raises my esteem of these fables, which I receive, not as the product of the age, or invention of the poets, but as sacred relics, gentle whispers, and the breath of better times, that from the traditions of more ancient nations came, at length, into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks. But if any one shall, notwithstanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or imposed upon the ancient fables, and no way native or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undisturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects (though we cannot help accounting it somewhat dull and phlegmatic), and if it were worth the trouble, proceed to another kind of argument.

Men have proposed to answer two different and contrary ends by the use of parable; for parables serve as well to instruct or illustrate as to wrap up and envelop, so that though, for the present, we drop the concealed use, and suppose the ancient fables to be vague, undeterminate things, formed for amusement, still the other use must remain, and can never be given up. And every man, of any learning, must readily allow that this method of instructing is grave, sober, or exceedingly useful, and sometimes necessary in the sciences, as it opens an easy and familiar passage to the human understanding, in all new discoveries that are abstruse and out of the road of vulgar opinions. Hence, in the first ages, when such inventions and conclusions of the human reason as are now trite and common were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, similes, comparisons, and allusions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilst the minds of men continued rude and unpractised in matters of subtilty and speculation, or even impatient, and in a manner uncapable of receiving such things as did not directly fall under and strike the senses. For as hieroglyphics were in use before writing, so were parables in use before arguments. And even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human understanding, and conquer prejudice, without raising contests, animosities, opposition, or disturbance, he must still go in the same path, and have recourse to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and allusion.

To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy; great, if they by design made this use of trope and figure; happy, if, whilst they had other views, they afforded matter and occasion to such noble contemplations. Let either be the case, our pains, perhaps, will not be misemployed, whether we illustrate antiquity or things themselves.

The like indeed has been attempted by others; but to speak ingenu

ously, their great and voluminous labours have almost destroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing, whilst, being unskilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the sense of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth. For myself, therefore, I expect to appear new in these common things, because, leaving untouched such as are sufficiently plain and open, I shall drive only at those that are either deep or rich.

I.—CASSANDRA, OR DIVINATION.

EXPLAINED OF TOO FREE AND UNSEASONABLE ADVICE.

The Poets relate, that Apollo, falling in love with Cassandra, was still deluded and put off by her, yet fed with hopes, till she had got from him the gift of prophecy; and having now obtained her end, she flatly rejected his suit. Apollo, unable to recall his rash gift, yet enraged to be outwitted by a girl, annexed this penalty to it, that though she should always prophesy true, she should never be believed; whence her divinations were always slighted, even when she again and again predicted the ruin of her country.

Explanation.—This fable seems invented to express the insignificance of unseasonable advice. For they who are conceited, stubborn, or intractable, and listen not to the instructions of Apollo, the god of harmony, so as to learn and observe the modulations and measures of affairs, the sharps and flats of discourse, the difference between judicious and vulgar ears, and the proper times of speech and silence, let them be ever so intelligent, and ever so frank of their advice, or their counsels ever so good and just, yet all their endeavours, either of persuasion or force, are of little significance, and rather hasten the ruin of those they advise. But, at last, when the calamitous event has made the sufferers feel the effect of their neglect, they too late reverence their advisers, as deep, foreseeing, and faithful prophets.

Of this we have a remarkable instance in Cato of Utica, who discovered afar off, and long foretold, the approaching ruin of his country, both in the first conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey,

yet did no good the while, but rather hurt the commonwealth, and hurried on its destruction, which Cicero wisely observed in these words: "Cato, indeed, judges excellently, but prejudices the state; for he speaks as in the commonwealth of Plato, and not as in the dregs of Romulus."

II.—TYPHON, OR A REBEL.

EXPLAINED OF REBELLION.

THE fable runs, that Juno, enraged at Jupiter's bringing forth Pallas without her assistance, incessantly solicited all the gods and goddesses, that she might produce without Jupiter: and having by violence and importunity obtained the grant, she struck the earth, and thence immediately sprung up Typhon, a huge and dreadful monster, whom she committed to the nursing of a serpent. As soon as he was grown up, this monster waged war on Jupiter, and taking him prisoner in the battle, carried him away on his shoulders, into a remote and obscure quarter: and there cutting out the sinews of his hands and feet, he bore them off, leaving Jupiter behind miserably maimed and mangled.

But Mercury afterwards stole these sinews from Typhon, and restored them to Jupiter. Hence, recovering his strength, Jupiter again pursues the monster; first wounds him with a stroke of his thunder, when serpents arose from the blood of the wound: and now the monster being dismayed, and taking to flight, Jupiter next darted Mount Ætna upon him, and crushed him with the weight.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems designed to express the various fates of kings, and the turns that rebellions sometimes take, in kingdoms. For princes may be justly esteemed married to their states, as Jupiter to Juno: but it sometimes happens, that, being depraved by long wielding of the sceptre, and growing tyrannical, they would engross all to themselves; and slighting the counsel of their senators and nobles, conceive by themselves; that is, govern according to their own arbitrary will and pleasure. This inflames the people, and makes them endeavour to create and set up some head of their own. Such designs are generally set on

foot by the secret motion and instigation of the peers and nobles, under whose connivance the common sort are prepared for rising: whence proceeds a swell in the state, which is appositely denoted by the nursing of Typhon. This growing posture of affairs is fed by the natural depravity, and malignant dispositions of the vulgar, which to kings is an envenomed serpent. And now the disaffected, uniting their force, at length break out into open rebellion, which, producing infinite mischiefs, both to prince and people, is represented by the horrid and multiplied deformity of Typhon, with his hundred heads, denoting the divided powers; his flaming mouths, denoting fire and devastation; his girdles of snakes, denoting sieges and destruction; his iron hands, slaughter and cruelty; his eagle's talons, rapine and plunder; his plumed body, perpetual rumours, contradictory accounts, &c. And sometimes these rebellions grow so high, that kings are obliged, as if carried on the backs of the rebels, to quit the throne, and retire to some remote and obscure part of their dominions, with the loss of their sinews, both of money and majesty.

But if now they prudently bear this reverse of fortune, they may, in a short time, by the assistance of Mercury, recover their sinews again; that is, by becoming moderate and affable; reconciling the minds and affections of the people to them, by gracious speeches, and prudent proclamations, which will win over the subject cheerfully to afford new aids and supplies, and add fresh vigour to authority. But prudent and wary princes here seldom incline to try fortune by a war, yet do their utmost, by some grand exploit, to crush the reputation of the rebels: and if the attempt succeeds, the rebels, conscious of the wound received, and distrustful of their cause, first betake themselves to broken and empty threats, like the hissings of serpents; and next, when matters are grown desperate, to flight. And now, when they thus begin to shrink, it is safe and seasonable for kings to pursue them with their forces, and the whole strength of the kingdom; thus effectually quashing and suppressing them, as it were by the weight of a mountain.

III.—THE CYCLOPS, OR THE MINISTERS OF TERROR.

EXPLAINED OF BASE COURT OFFICERS.

It is related that the Cyclops, for their savageness and cruelty, were by Jupiter first thrown into Tartarus, and there condemned to perpetual imprisonment: but that afterwards, Tellus persuaded Jupiter it would be for his service to release them, and employ them in forging thunderbolts. This he accordingly did; and they, with unwearied pains and diligence, hammered out his bolts, and other instruments of terror, with a frightful and continual din of the anvil.

It happened long after, that Jupiter was displeased with Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, for having, by the art of medicine, restored a dead man to life: but concealing his indignation, because the action in itself was pious and illustrious, he secretly incensed the Cyclops against him, who, without remorse, presently slew him with their thunderbolts: in revenge whereof, Apollo, with Jupiter's connivance, shot them all dead with his arrows.

Explanation.—This fable seems to point at the behaviour of princes, who, having cruel, bloody, and oppressive ministers, first punish and displace them; but afterwards, by the advice of Tellus, that is, some earthly-minded and ignoble person, employ them again, to serve a turn, when there is occasion for cruelty in execution, or severity in exaction: but these ministers being base in their nature, whet by their former disgrace, and well aware of what is expected from them, use double diligence in their office; till, proceeding unwarily, and over-eager to gain favour, they sometimes, from the private nods, and ambiguous orders of their prince, perform some odious or execrable action: When princes, to decline the envy themselves, and knowing they shall never want such tools at their back, drop them, and give them up to the friends and followers of the injured person; thus exposing them, as sacrifices to revenge and popular odium: whence with great applause, acclamations, and good wishes to the prince, these miscreants at last meet with their desert.

IV.—NARCISSUS, OR SELF-LOVE.

NARCISSUS is said to have been extremely beautiful and comely, but intolerably proud and disdainful; so that, pleased with himself, and scorning the world, he led a solitary life in the woods; hunting only with a few followers, who were his professed admirers, amongst whom the nymph Echo was his constant attendant. In this method of life it was once his fate to approach a clear fountain, where he laid himself down to rest, in the noonday heat; when, beholding his image in the water, he fell into such a rapture and admiration of himself, that he could by no means be got away, but remained continually fixed and gazing, till at length he was turned into a flower, of his own name, which appears early in the spring, and is consecrated to the infernal deities, Pluto, Proserpine, and the Furies.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to paint the behaviour and fortune of those, who, for their beauty, or other endowments, wherewith nature (without any industry of their own) has graced and adorned them, are extravagantly fond of themselves: for men of such a disposition generally affect retirement, and absence from public affairs; as a life of business must necessarily subject them to many neglects and contempts, which might disturb and ruffle their minds: whence such persons commonly lead a solitary, private, and shadowy life; see little company, and those only such as highly admire and reverence them; or, like an echo, assent to all they say.

And they who are depraved, and rendered still fonder of themselves by this custom, grow strangely indolent, unactive, and perfectly stupid. The Narcissus, a spring flower, is an elegant emblem of this temper, which at first flourishes, and is talked of, but when ripe, frustrates the expectation conceived of it.

And that this flower should be sacred to the infernal powers, carries out the allusion still farther; because men of this humour are perfectly useless in all respects: for what-

ever yields no fruit, but passes, and is no more, like the way of a ship in the sea, was by the ancients consecrated to the infernal shades and powers.

V.—THE RIVER STYX, OR LEAGUES.

EXPLAINED OF NECESSITY, IN THE OATHS OR SOLEMN LEAGUES OF PRINCES.

THE only solemn oath, by which the gods irrevocably obliged themselves, is a well-known thing, and makes a part of many ancient fables. To this oath they did not invoke any celestial divinity, or divine attribute, but only called to witness the river Styx; which, with many meanders, surrounds the infernal court of Dis. For this form alone, and none but this, was held inviolable and obligatory: and the punishment of falsifying it, was that dreaded one of being excluded, for a certain number of years, the table of the gods.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems invented to show the nature of the compacts and confederacies of princes; which, though ever so solemnly and religiously sworn to, prove but little the more binding for it: so that oaths in this case seem used, rather for decorum, reputation, and ceremony, than for fidelity, security, and effectuating. And though these oaths were strengthened with the bonds of affinity, which are the links and ties of nature, and again, by mutual services and good offices, yet we see all this will generally give way to ambition, convenience, and the thirst of power: the rather, because it is easy for princes, under various specious pretences, to defend, disguise, and conceal their ambitious desires, and insincerity; having no judge to call them to account. There is, however, one true and proper confirmation of their faith, though no celestial divinity; but that great divinity of princes, Necessity; or, the danger of the state; and the securing of advantage.

This necessity is elegantly represented by Styx, the fatal river, that can never be crossed back. And this deity it was, which Iphicrates the Athenian invoked in making a league: and because he roundly and openly avows what most others

studiously conceal, it may be proper to give his own words. Observing that the Lacedæmonians were inventing and proposing a variety of securities, sanctions, and bonds of alliance, he interrupted them thus: "There may indeed, my friends, be one bond and means of security between us; and that is, for you to demonstrate you have delivered into our hands, such things as that if you had the greatest desire to hurt us you could not be able." Therefore, if the power of offending be taken away, or if by a breach of compact there be danger of destruction or diminution to the state or tribute, then it is that covenants will be ratified, and confirmed, as it were by the Stygian oath, whilst there remains an impending danger of being prohibited and excluded the banquet of the gods; by which expression the ancients denoted the rights and prerogatives, the affluence and the felicities, of empire and dominion.

VI.—PAN, OR NATURE.[a]

EXPLAINED OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE ancients have, with great exactness, delineated universal nature under the person of Pan. They leave his origin doubtful; some asserting him the son of Mercury, and others the common offspring of all Penelope's suitors. The latter supposition doubtless occasioned some later rivals to entitle this ancient fable Penelope; a thing frequently practised when the earlier relations are applied to more modern characters and persons, though sometimes with great absurdity and ignorance, as in the present case; for Pan was one of the ancientest gods, and long before the time of Ulysses; besides, Penelope was venerated by antiquity for her matronal chastity. A third sort will have him the issue of Jupiter and Hybris, that is, Reproach. But whatever his origin was, the Destinies are allowed his sisters.

He is described by antiquity, with pyramidal horns reaching up to heaven, a rough and shaggy body, a very long beard, of a biform figure, human above, half brute below, ending in goat's feet. His arms, or ensigns of power, are

[a] Homer's Hymn to Pan.

a pipe in his left hand, composed of seven reeds; in his right a crook; and he wore for his mantle a leopard's skin.

His attributes and titles were the god of hunters, shepherds, and all the rural inhabitants; president of the mountains; and, after Mercury, the next messenger of the gods. He was also held the leader and ruler of the Nymphs, who continually danced and frisked about him, attended with the Satyrs and their elders, the Sileni. He had also the power of striking terrors, especially such as were vain and superstitious; whence they came to be called panic terrors.[b]

Few actions are recorded of him, only a principal one is, that he challenged Cupid at wrestling, and was worsted. He also catched the giant Typhon in a net, and held him fast. They relate farther of him, that when Ceres, growing disconsolate for the rape of Proserpine, hid herself, and all the gods took the utmost pains to find her, by going out different ways for that purpose, Pan only had the good fortune to meet her, as he was hunting, and discovered her to the rest. He likewise had the assurance to rival Apollo in music; and in the judgment of Midas was preferred; but the judge had, though with great privacy and secrecy, a pair of ass's ears fastened on him for his sentence.[c]

There is very little said of his amours; which may seem strange among such a multitude of gods, so profusely amorous. He is only reported to have been very fond of Echo, who was also esteemed his wife; and one nymph more, called Syrinx, with the love of whom Cupid inflamed him for his insolent challenge; so he is reported once to have solicited the moon to accompany him apart into the deep woods.

Lastly, Pan had no descendant, which also is a wonder, when the male gods were so extremely prolific; only he was the reputed father of a servant-girl called Iambe, who used to divert strangers with her ridiculous prattling stories.

This fable is perhaps the noblest of all antiquity, and pregnant with the mysteries and secrets of nature. Pan, as the name imports, represents the universe, about whose origin there are two opinions, viz., that it either sprung from Mercury, that is, the divine word, according to the Scriptures

[b] Cicero, Epistle to Atticus, 5. [c] Ovid, Metamorphoses, b. ii.

and philosophical divines, or from the confused seeds of things. For they who allow only one beginning of all things, either ascribe it to God; or, if they suppose a material beginning, acknowledge it to be various in its powers; so that the whole dispute comes to these points; viz., either that nature proceeds from Mercury, or from Penelope and all her suitors.[d]

The third origin of Pan seems borrowed by the Greeks from the Hebrew mysteries, either by means of the Egyptians or otherwise; for it relates to the state of the world, not in its first creation, but as made subject to death and corruption after the fall; and in this state it was and remains, the offspring of God and Sin, or Jupiter and Reproach. And therefore these three several accounts of Pan's birth may seem true, if duly distinguished in respect of things and times. For this Pan, or the universal nature of things, which we view and contemplate, had its origin from the divine Word and confused matter, first created by God himself, with the subsequent introduction of sin, and consequently corruption.

The Destinies, or the natures and fates of things, are justly made Pan's sisters, as the chain of natural causes links together the rise, duration, and corruption; the exaltation, degeneration, and workings; the processes, the effects, and changes, of all that can any way happen to things.

Horns are given him, broad at the roots, but narrow and sharp at the top, because the nature of all things seems pyramidal; for individuals are infinite, but being collected into a variety of species, they rise up into kinds, and these again ascend, and are contracted into generals, till at length nature may seem collected to a point. And no wonder if Pan's horns reach to the heavens, since the sublimities of nature, or abstract ideas, reach in a manner to things divine; for there is a short and ready passage from metaphysics to natural theology.

Pan's body, or the body of nature, is, with great propriety

[d] This refers to the confused mixture of things, as sung by Virgil:—

"Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent;
Et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis."—Ecl. vi. 31.

and elegance, painted shaggy and hairy, as representing the rays of things; for rays are as the hair, or fleece of nature, and more or less worn by all bodies. This evidently appears in vision, and in all effects or operations at a distance; for whatever operates thus may be properly said to emit rays.[e] But particularly the beard of Pan is exceeding long, because the rays of the celestial bodies penetrate, and act to a prodigious distance, and have descended into the interior of the earth so far as to change its surface; and the sun himself, when clouded on its upper part, appears to the eye bearded.

Again, the body of nature is justly described biform, because of the difference between its superior and inferior parts, as the former, for their beauty, regularity of motion, and influence over the earth, may be properly represented by the human figure, and the latter, because of their disorder, irregularity, and subjection to the celestial bodies, are by the brutal. This biform figure also represents the participation of one species with another; for there appear to be no simple natures; but all participate or consist of two: thus man has somewhat of the brute, the brute somewhat of the plant, the plant somewhat of the mineral; so that all natural bodies have really two faces, or consist of a superior and an inferior species.

There lies a curious allegory in the making of Pan goat-footed, on account of the motion of ascent which the terrestrial bodies have towards the air and heavens; for the goat is a clambering creature, that delights in climbing up rocks and precipices; and in the same manner the matters destined to this lower globe strongly affect to rise upwards, as appears from the clouds and meteors.

Pan's arms, or the ensigns he bears in his hands, are of two kinds—the one an emblem of harmony, the other of empire. His pipe, composed of seven reeds, plainly denotes the consent and harmony, or the concords and discords of things, produced by the motion of the seven planets. His crook also contains a fine representation of the ways of nature, which are partly straight and partly crooked; thus the staff, having an extraordinary bend towards the top,

[e] This is always supposed to be the case in vision, the mathematical demonstrations in optics proceeding invariably upon the assumption of this phenomenon.

denotes that the works of Divine Providence are generally brought about by remote means, or in a circuit, as if somewhat else were intended rather than the effect produced, as in the sending of Joseph into Egypt, &c. So likewise in human government, they who sit at the helm manage and wind the people more successfully by pretext and oblique courses, than they could by such as are direct and straight; so that, in effect, all sceptres are crooked at the top.

Pan's mantle, or clothing, is with great ingenuity made of a leopard's skin, because of the spots it has; for in like manner the heavens are sprinkled with stars, the sea with islands, the earth with flowers, and almost each particular thing is variegated, or wears a mottled coat.

The office of Pan could not be more livelily expressed than by making him the god of hunters; for every natural action, every motion and process, is no other than a chase: thus arts and sciences hunt out their works, and human schemes and counsels their several ends; and all living creatures either hunt out their aliment, pursue their prey, or seek their pleasures, and this in a skilful and sagacious manner.[f] He is also styled the god of the rural inhabitants, because men in this situation live more according to nature than they do in cities and courts, where nature is so corrupted with effeminate arts, that the saying of the poet may be verified—

—— pars minima est ipsa puella sui.[g]

He is likewise particularly styled President of the Mountains, because in mountains and lofty places the nature of things lies more open and exposed to the eye and the understanding.

In his being called the messenger of the gods, next after Mercury, lies a divine allegory, as next after the Word of God, the image of the world is the herald of the Divine power and wisdom, according to the expression of the Psalmist, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork."[h]

[f] "Torva læna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam:
Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella."
Virgil, Ecl. ii. 63.

[g] Ovid, Rem. Amoris, v. 343. Mart. Epist.

[h] Psalm xix. 1.

Pan is delighted with the company of the Nymphs; that is, the souls of all living creatures are the delight of the world; and he is properly called their governor, because each of them follows its own nature as a leader, and all dance about their own respective rings, with infinite variety and never-ceasing motion. And with these continually join the Satyrs and Sileni; that is, youth and age: for all things have a kind of young, cheerful, and dancing time; and again their time of slowness, tottering, and creeping. And whoever, in a true light, considers the motions and endeavours of both these ages, like another Democritus, will perhaps find them as odd and strange as the gesticulations and antic motions of the Satyrs and Sileni.

The power he had of striking terrors contains a very sensible doctrine; for nature has implanted fear in all living creatures; as well to keep them from risking their lives, as to guard against injuries and violence; and yet this nature or passion keeps not its bounds, but with just and profitable fears always mixes such as are vain and senseless; so that all things, if we could see their insides, would appear full of panic terrors. Thus mankind, particularly the vulgar, labour under a high degree of superstition, which is nothing more than a panic-dread that principally reigns in unsettled and troublesome times.

The presumption of Pan in challenging Cupid to the conflict, denotes that matter has an appetite and tendency to a dissolution of the world, and falling back to its first chaos again, unless this depravity and inclination were restrained and subdued by a more powerful concord and agreement of things, properly expressed by Love or Cupid; it is therefore well for mankind, and the state of all things, that Pan was thrown and conquered in the struggle.

His catching and detaining Typhon in the net receives a similar explanation; for whatever vast and unusual swells, which the word typhon signifies, may sometimes be raised in nature, as in the sea, the clouds, the earth, or the like, yet nature catches, entangles, and holds all such outrages and insurrections in her inextricable net, wove as it were of adamant.

That part of the fable which attributes the discovery of lost Ceres to Pan whilst he was hunting—a happiness denied

the other gods, though they diligently and expressly sought her—contains an exceeding just and prudent admonition; viz., that we are not to expect the discovery of things useful in common life, as that of corn, denoted by Ceres, from abstract philosophies, as if these were the gods of the first order,—no, not though we used our utmost endeavours this way,—but only from Pan, that is, a sagacious experience and general knowledge of nature, which is often found, even by accident, to stumble upon such discoveries whilst the pursuit was directed another way.

The event of his contending with Apollo in music affords us a useful instruction, that may help to humble the human reason and judgment, which is too apt to boast and glory in itself. There seem to be two kinds of harmony—the one of Divine Providence, the other of human reason; but the government of the world, the administration of its affairs, and the more secret Divine judgments, sound harsh and dissonant to human ears or human judgment; and though this ignorance be justly rewarded with asses ears, yet they are put on and worn, not openly, but with great secrecy; nor is the deformity of the thing seen or observed by the vulgar.

We must not find it strange if no amours are related of Pan besides his marriage with Echo; for nature enjoys itself, and in itself all other things. He that loves desires enjoyment, but in profusion there is no room for desire; and therefore Pan, remaining content with himself, has no passion unless it be for discourse, which is well shadowed out by Echo or talk, or when it is more accurate, by Syrinx or writing.[1] But Echo makes a most excellent wife for Pan, as being no other than genuine philosophy, which faithfully repeats his words, or only transcribes exactly as nature dictates; thus representing the true image and reflection of the world without adding a tittle.

It tends also to the support and perfection of Pan or nature to be without offspring; for the world generates in its parts, and not in the way of a whole, as wanting a body external to itself wherewith to generate.

Lastly, for the supposed or spurious prattling daughter of

[1] Syrinx signifying a reed, or the ancient pen.

Pan, it is an excellent addition to the fable. and aptly represents the talkative philosophies that have at all times been stirring, and filled the world with idle tales, being ever barren, empty, and servile, though sometimes indeed diverting and entertaining, and sometimes again troublesome and importunate.

VII.—PERSEUS,[a] OR WAR.

EXPLAINED OF THE PREPARATION AND CONDUCT NECESSARY TO WAR.

"THE fable relates, that Perseus was despatched from the east by Pallas, to cut off Medusa's head, who had committed great ravage upon the people of the west; for this Medusa was so dire a monster as to turn into stone all those who but looked upon her. She was a Gorgon, and the only mortal one of the three, the other two being invulnerable. Perseus, therefore, preparing himself for this grand enterprise, had presents made him from three of the gods: Mercury gave him wings for his heels; Pluto, a helmet; and Pallas, a shield and a mirror. But though he was now so well equipped, he posted not directly to Medusa, but first turned aside to the Greæ, who were half-sisters to the Gorgons. These Greæ were gray-headed, and like old women from their birth, having among them all three but one eye, and one tooth, which, as they had occasion to go out, they each wore by turns, and laid them down again upon coming back. This eye and this tooth they lent to Perseus, who now judging himself sufficiently furnished, he, without farther stop, flies swiftly away to Medusa, and finds her asleep. But not venturing his eyes, for fear she should wake, he turned his head aside, and viewed her in Pallas's mirror; and thus directing his stroke, cut off her head; when immediately, from the gushing blood, there darted Pegasus, winged. Perseus now inserted Medusa's head into Pallas's shield, which thence retained the faculty of astonishing and benumbing all who looked on it."

This fable seems invented to show the prudent method of choosing, undertaking, and conducting a war; and, accord-

[a] Ovid, Metam. b. iv.

ingly, lays down three useful precepts about it, as if they were the precepts of Pallas.

(1.) The first is, that no prince should be over-solicitous to subdue a neighbouring nation; for the method of enlarging an empire is very different from that of increasing an estate. Regard is justly had to contiguity, or adjacency, in private lands and possessions; but in the extending of empire, the occasion, the facility, and advantage of a war, are to be regarded instead of vicinity. It is certain that the Romans, at the time they stretched but little beyond Liguria to the west, had by their arms subdued the provinces as far as Mount Taurus to the east. And thus Perseus readily undertook a very long expedition, even from the east to the extremities of the west.

The second precept is, that the cause of the war be just and honourable; for this adds alacrity both to the soldiers, and the people who find the supplies; procures aids, alliances, and numerous other conveniences. Now there is no cause of war more just and laudable, than the suppressing of tyranny, by which a people are dispirited, benumbed, or left without life and vigour, as at the sight of Medusa.

Lastly, it is prudently added, that as there were three of the Gorgons, who represent war, Perseus singled her out for his expedition that was mortal; which affords this precept, that such kind of wars should be chose as may be brought to a conclusion, without pursuing vast and infinite hopes.

Again, Perseus's setting-out is extremely well adapted to his undertaking, and in a manner commands success; he received despatch from Mercury, secrecy from Pluto, and foresight from Pallas. It also contains an excellent allegory, that the wings given him by Mercury were for his heels, not for his shoulders; because expedition is not so much required in the first preparations for war, as in the subsequent matters, that administer to the first; for there is no error more frequent in war, than, after brisk preparations, to halt for subsidiary forces and effective supplies.

The allegory of Pluto's helmet, rendering men invisible and secret, is sufficiently evident of itself; but the mystery of the shield and the mirror lies deeper, and denotes, that not only a prudent caution must be had to defend, like the shield, but also such an address and penetration as may

discover the strength, the motions, the counsels, and designs of the enemy; like the mirror of Pallas.

But though Perseus may now seem extremely well prepared, there still remains the most important thing of all; before he enters upon the war, he must of necessity consult the Greæ. These Greæ are treasons; half, but degenerate sisters of the Gorgons; who are representatives of wars: for wars are generous and noble; but treasons base and vile. The Greæ are elegantly described as hoary-headed, and like old women from their birth; on account of the perpetual cares, fears, and trepidations attending traitors. Their force, also, before it breaks out into open revolt, consists either in an eye or a tooth; for all faction, alienated from a state, is both watchful and biting; and this eye and tooth are, as it were, common to all the disaffected; because whatever they learn and know is transmitted from one to another, as by the hands of faction. And for the tooth, they all bite with the same; and clamour with one throat; so that each of them singly expresses the multitude.

These Greæ, therefore, must be prevailed upon by Perseus to lend him their eye and their tooth; the eye to give him indications, and make discoveries; the tooth for sowing rumours, raising envy, and stirring up the minds of the people. And when all these things are thus disposed and prepared, then follows the action of the war.

He finds Medusa asleep; for whoever undertakes a war with prudence, generally falls upon the enemy unprepared, and nearly in a state of security; and here is the occasion for Pallas's mirror: for it is common enough, before the danger presents itself, to see exactly into the state and posture of the enemy; but the principal use of the glass is, in the very instant of danger, to discover the manner thereof, and prevent consternation; which is the thing intended by Perseus's turning his head aside, and viewing the enemy in the glass.[b]

Two effects here follow the conquest: 1. The darting forth of Pegasus; which evidently denotes fame, that flies abroad,

[b] Thus it is the excellence of a general early to discover what turn the battle is likely to take, and looking prudently behind, as well as before, to pursue a victory so as not to be unprovided for a retreat.

proclaiming the victory far and near. 2. The bearing of Medusa's head in the shield, which is the greatest possible defence and safeguard; for one grand and memorable enterprise, happily accomplished, bridles all the motions and attempts of the enemy, stupifies disaffection, and quells commotions.

VIII.—ENDYMION, OR A FAVOURITE.

EXPLAINED OF COURT FAVOURITES.

THE goddess Luna is said to have fallen in love with the shepherd Endymion, and to have carried on her amours with him in a new and singular manner; it being her custom, whilst he lay reposing in his native cave, under Mount Latmus, to descend frequently from her sphere, enjoy his company whilst he slept, and then go up to heaven again. And all this while, Endymion's fortune was no way prejudiced by his unactive and sleepy life, the goddess causing his flocks to thrive, and grow so exceeding numerous, that none of the other shepherds could compare with him.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to describe the tempers and dispositions of princes, who, being thoughtful and suspicious, do not easily admit to their privacies such men as are prying, curious, and vigilant, or, as it were, sleepless; but rather such as are of an easy, obliging nature, and indulge them in their pleasures, without seeking anything farther; but seeming ignorant, insensible, or, as it were, lulled asleep before them.[a] Princes usually treat such persons familiarly; and, quitting their throne like Luna, think

[a] It may be remembered that the Athenian peasant voted for the banishment of Aristides, because he was called the Just. Shakespeare forcibly expresses the same thought:—

> "Let me have men about me that are fat;
> Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights:
> Yond' Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
> He thinks too much: such men are dangerous."

If Bacon had completed his intended work upon "Sympathy and Antipathy," the constant hatred evinced by ignorance of intellectual

they may with safety unbosom to them. This temper was very remarkable in Tiberius, a prince exceeding difficult to please, and who had no favourites but those that perfectly understood his way, and, at the same time, obstinately dissembled their knowledge, almost to a degree of stupidity.

The cave is not improperly mentioned in the fable; it being a common thing for the favourites of a prince to have their pleasant retreats, whither to invite him, by way of relaxation, though without prejudice to their own fortunes; these favourites usually making a good provision for themselves.

For though their prince should not, perhaps, promote them to dignities, yet, out of real affection, and not only for convenience, they generally feel the enriching influence of his bounty.

IX.—THE SISTER OF THE GIANTS, OR FAME.

EXPLAINED OF PUBLIC DETRACTION.

THE poets relate, that the giants, produced from the earth, made war upon Jupiter, and the other gods, but were repulsed and conquered by thunder; whereat the earth, provoked, brought forth Fame, the youngest sister of the giants, in revenge for the death of her sons.

EXPLANATION.—The meaning of the fable seems to be this: the earth denotes the nature of the vulgar, who are always swelling, and rising against their rulers, and endeavouring at changes. This disposition, getting a fit opportunity, breeds rebels and traitors, who, with impetuous rage, threaten and contrive the overthrow and destruction of princes.

And when brought under and subdued, the same vile and restless nature of the people, impatient of peace, produces rumours, detractions, slanders, libels, &c., to blacken those in authority; so that rebellious actions and seditious rumours,

superiority, originating sometimes in the painful feeling of inferiority, sometimes in the fear of worldly injury, would not have escaped his notice.—*Ed.*

differ not in origin and stock, but only as it were in sex; treasons and rebellions being the brothers, and scandal or detraction the sister.

X.—ACTEON AND PENTHEUS, OR A CURIOUS MAN.

EXPLAINED OF CURIOSITY, OR PRYING INTO THE SECRETS OF PRINCES AND DIVINE MYSTERIES.

THE ancients afford us two examples for suppressing the impertinent curiosity of mankind, in diving into secrets, and imprudently longing and endeavouring to discover them. The one of these is in the person of Acteon, and the other in that of Pentheus. Acteon, undesignedly chancing to see Diana naked, was turned into a stag, and torn to pieces by his own hounds. And Pentheus, desiring to pry into the hidden mysteries of Bacchus's sacrifice, and climbing a tree for that purpose, was struck with a phrensy. This phrensy of Pentheus caused him to see things double, particularly the sun, and his own city Thebes, so that running homewards, and immediately espying another Thebes, he runs towards that; and thus continues incessantly tending first to the one, and then to the other, without coming at either.

EXPLANATION.—The first of these fables may relate to the secrets of princes, and the second to divine mysteries. For they who are not intimate with a prince, yet against his will have a knowledge of his secrets, inevitably incur his displeasure; and therefore, being aware that they are singled out, and all opportunities watched against them, they lead the life of a stag, full of fears and suspicions. It likewise frequently happens that their servants and domestics accuse them, and plot their overthrow, in order to procure favour with the prince; for whenever the king manifests his displeasure, the person it falls upon must expect his servants to betray him, and worry him down, as Acteon was worried by his own dogs.

The punishment of Pentheus is of another kind; for they who, unmindful of their mortal state, rashly aspire to divine mysteries, by climbing the heights of nature and philosophy, here represented by climbing a tree,—their fate is perpetual

inconstancy, perplexity, and instability of judgment. For as there is one light of nature, and another light that is divine, they see, as it were, two suns. And as the actions of life, and the determinations of the will, depend upon the understanding, they are distracted as much in opinion as in will; and therefore judge very inconsistently, or contradictorily; and see, as it were, Thebes double: for Thebes being the refuge and habitation of Pentheus, here denotes the ends of actions: whence they know not what course to take, but remaining undetermined and unresolved in their views and designs, they are merely driven about by every sudden gust and impulse of the mind.

XI.—ORPHEUS, OR PHILOSOPHY.

EXPLAINED OF NATURAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

Introduction.—The fable of Orpheus, though trite and common, has never been well interpreted, and seems to hold out a picture of universal philosophy; for to this sense may be easily transferred what is said of his being a wonderful and perfectly divine person, skilled in all kinds of harmony, subduing and drawing all things after him by sweet and gentle methods and modulations. For the labours of Orpheus exceed the labours of Hercules, both in power and dignity, as the works of knowledge exceed the works of strength.

Fable.—Orpheus having his beloved wife snatched from him by sudden death, resolved upon descending to the infernal regions, to try if, by the power of his harp, he could reobtain her. And, in effect, he so appeased and soothed the infernal powers by the melody and sweetness of his harp and voice, that they indulged him the liberty of taking her back, on condition that she should follow him behind, and he not turn to look upon her till they came into open day; but he, through the impatience of his care and affection, and thinking himself almost past danger, at length looked behind him, whereby the condition was violated, and she again precipitated to Pluto's regions. From this time Orpheus

grew pensive and sad, a hater of the sex, and went into solitude, where, by the same sweetness of his harp and voice, he first drew the wild beasts of all sorts about him; so that, forgetting their natures, they were neither actuated by revenge, cruelty, lust, hunger, or the desire of prey, but stood gazing about him, in a tame and gentle manner, listening attentively to his music. Nay, so great was the power and efficacy of his harmony, that it even caused the trees and stones to remove, and place themselves in a regular manner about him. When he had for a time, and with great admiration, continued to do this, at length the Thracian women, raised by the instigation of Bacchus, first blew a deep and hoarse-sounding horn, in such an outrageous manner, that it quite drowned the music of Orpheus. And thus the power which, as the link of their society, held all things in order, being dissolved, disturbance reigned anew; each creature returned to its own nature, and pursued and preyed upon its fellow, as before. The rocks and woods also started back to their former places; and even Orpheus himself was at last torn to pieces by these female furies, and his limbs scattered all over the desert. But, in sorrow and revenge for his death, the river Helicon, sacred to the Muses, hid its waters under ground, and rose again in other places.

Explanation.—The fable receives this explanation. The music of Orpheus is of two kinds; one that appeases the infernal powers, and the other that draws together the wild beasts and trees. The former properly relates to natural, and the latter to moral philosophy, or civil society. The reinstatement and restoration of corruptible things is the noblest work of natural philosophy; and, in a less degree, the preservation of bodies in their own state, or a prevention of their dissolution and corruption. And if this be possible, it can certainly be effected no other way than by proper and exquisite attemperations of nature; as it were by the harmony and fine touching of the harp. But as this is a thing of exceeding great difficulty, the end is seldom obtained; and that, probably, for no reason more than a curious and unseasonable impatience and solicitude.

And. therefore, philosophy, being almost unequal to the

task, has cause to grow sad, and hence betakes itself to human affairs, insinuating into men's minds the love of virtue, equity, and peace, by means of eloquence and persuasion; thus forming men into societies; bringing them under laws and regulations; and making them forget their unbridled passions and affections, so long as they hearken to precepts and submit to discipline. And thus they soon after build themselves habitations, form cities, cultivate lands, plant orchards, gardens, &c. So that they may not improperly be said to remove and call the trees and stones together.

And this regard to civil affairs is justly and regularly placed after diligent trial made for restoring the mortal body; the attempt being frustrated in the end—because the unavoidable necessity of death, thus evidently laid before mankind, animates them to seek a kind of eternity by works of perpetuity, character, and fame.

It is also prudently added, that Orpheus was afterwards averse to women and wedlock, because the indulgence of a married state, and the natural affections which men have for their children, often prevent them from entering upon any grand, noble, or meritorious enterprise for the public good; as thinking it sufficient to obtain immortality by their descendants, without endeavouring at great actions.

And even the works of knowledge, though the most excellent among human things, have their periods; for after kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished for a time, disturbances, seditions, and wars, often arise, in the din whereof, first the laws are silent, and not heard; and then men return to their own depraved natures—whence cultivated lands and cities soon become desolate and waste. And if this disorder continues, learning and philosophy is infallibly torn to pieces; so that only some scattered fragments thereof can afterwards be found up and down, in a few places, like planks after a shipwreck. And barbarous times succeeding, the river Helicon dips under-ground; that is, letters are buried, till things having undergone their due course of changes, learning rises again, and show its head, though seldom in the same place, but in some other nation.[a]

[a] Thus we see that Orpheus denotes learning; Eurydice, things, or the subject of learning; Bacchus, and the Thracian women, men's ungo-

XII.—CŒLUM, OR BEGINNINGS.

EXPLAINED OF THE CREATION, OR ORIGIN OF ALL THINGS.

THE poets relate, that Cœlum was the most ancient of all the gods; that his parts of generation were cut off by his son Saturn; that Saturn had a numerous offspring, but devoured all his sons, as soon as they were born; that Jupiter at length escaped the common fate; and when grown up, drove his father Saturn into Tartarus; usurped the kingdom; cut off his father's genitals, with the same knife wherewith Saturn had dismembered Cœlum, and throwing them into the sea, thence sprung Venus.

Before Jupiter was well established in his empire, two memorable wars were made upon him: the first by the Titans, in subduing of whom, Sol, the only one of the Titans who favoured Jupiter, performed him singular service; the second by the giants, who being destroyed and subdued by the thunder and arms of Jupiter, he now reigned secure.

EXPLANATION.—This fable appears to be an enigmatical account of the origin of all things, not greatly differing from the philosophy afterwards embraced by Democritus, who expressly asserts the eternity of matter, but denies the eternity of the world; thereby approaching to the truth of sacred writ, which makes chaos, or uninformed matter, to exist before the six days' works.

The meaning of the fable seems to be this: Cœlum denotes the concave space, or vaulted roof that incloses all matter, and Saturn the matter itself, which cuts off all power of generation from his father; as one and the same quantity of matter remains invariable in nature, without addition or diminution. But the agitations and struggling motions of matter, first produced certain imperfect and ill-joined compositions of things, as it were so many first rudiments, or essays of worlds; till, in process of time, there arose a fabric capable of preserving its form and structure. Whence the first age was shadowed out by the reign of

verned passions and appetites, &c. And in the same manner all the ancient fables might be familiarly illustrated, and brought down to the capacities of children.

Saturn; who, on account of the frequent dissolutions, and short durations of things, was said to devour his children. And the second age was denoted by the reign of Jupiter; who thrust, or drove those frequent and transitory changes into Tartarus—a place expressive of disorder. This place seems to be the middle space, between the lower heavens and the internal parts of the earth, wherein disorder, imperfection, mutation, mortality, destruction, and corruption, are principally found.

Venus was not born during the former generation of things, under the reign of Saturn; for whilst discord and jar had the upper hand of concord and uniformity in the matter of the universe, a change of the entire structure was necessary. And in this manner things were generated and destroyed, before Saturn was dismembered. But when this manner of generation ceased, there immediately followed another, brought about by Venus, or a perfect and established harmony of things; whereby changes were wrought in the parts, whilst the universal fabric remained entire and undisturbed. Saturn, however, is said to be thrust out and dethroned, not killed, and become extinct; because, agreeably to the opinion of Democritus, the world might relapse into its old confusion and disorder, which Lucretius hoped would not happen in his time.[a]

But now, when the world was compact, and held together by its own bulk and energy, yet there was no rest from the beginning; for first, there followed considerable motions and disturbances in the celestial regions, though so regulated and moderated by the power of the Sun, prevailing over the heavenly bodies, as to continue the world in its state. Afterwards there followed the like in the lower parts, by inundations, storms, winds, general earthquakes, &c., which, however, being subdued and kept under, there ensued a more peaceable and lasting harmony, and consent of things.

It may be said of this fable, that it includes philosophy; and again, that philosophy includes the fable; for we know, by faith, that all these things are but the oracle of sense, long since ceased and decayed; but the matter and fabric of the world being justly attributed to a creator.

[a] "Quod procul a nobis flectat Fortuna gubernans;
Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa."

XIII.—PROTEUS, OR MATTER.

EXPLAINED OF MATTER AND ITS CHANGES.

PROTEUS, according to the poets, was Neptune's herdsman, an old man, and a most extraordinary prophet, who understood things past and present, as well as future; so that besides the business of divination, he was the revealer and interpreter of all antiquity, and secrets of every kind. He lived in a vast cave, where his custom was to tell over his herd of sea-calves at noon, and then to sleep. Whoever consulted him, had no other way of obtaining an answer, but by binding him with manacles and fetters; when he, endeavouring to free himself, would change into all kinds of shapes and miraculous forms; as of fire, water, wild beasts, &c.; till at length he resumed his own shape again.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to point at the secrets of nature, and the states of matter. For the person of Proteus denotes matter, the oldest of all things, after God himself;[a] that resides, as in a cave, under the vast concavity of the heavens. He is represented as the servant of Neptune, because the various operations and modifications of matter are principally wrought in a fluid state. The herd, or flock of Proteus, seems to be no other than the several kinds of animals, plants, and minerals, in which matter appears to diffuse and spend itself; so that after having formed these several species, and as it were finished its task, it seems to sleep and repose, without otherwise attempting to produce any new ones. And this is the moral of Proteus's counting his herd, then going to sleep.

This is said to be done at noon, not in the morning or evening; by which is meant the time best fitted and disposed for the production of species, from a matter duly prepared, and made ready beforehand, and now lying in a middle state, between its first rudiments and decline; which, we learn from sacred history, was the case at the time of the creation; when, by the efficacy of the divine command, matter directly came together, without any transformation or

[a] Proteus properly signifies primary, oldest, or first.

intermediate changes, which it affects; instantly obeyed the order, and appeared in the form of creatures.

And thus far the fable reaches of Proteus, and his flock, at liberty and unrestrained. For the universe, with the common structures and fabrics of the creatures, is the face of matter, not under constraint, or as the flock wrought upon and tortured by human means. But if any skilful minister of nature shall apply force to matter, and by design torture and vex it, in order to its annihilation, it, on the contrary, being brought under this necessity, changes and transforms itself into a strange variety of shapes and appearances; for nothing but the power of the Creator can annihilate, or truly destroy it; so that at length, running through the whole circle of transformations, and completing its period, it in some degree restores itself, if the force be continued. And that method of binding, torturing, or detaining, will prove the most effectual and expeditious, which makes use of manacles and fetters; that is, lays hold and works upon matter in the extremest degrees.

The addition in the fable that makes Proteus a prophet, who had the knowledge of things past, present, and future, excellently agrees with the nature of matter; as he who knows the properties, the changes, and the processes of matter, must of necessity understand the effects and sum of what it does, has done, or can do, though his knowledge extends not to all the parts and particulars thereof.

XIV.—MEMNON, OR A YOUTH TOO FORWARD.

EXPLAINED OF THE FATAL PRECIPITANCY OF YOUTH.

THE poets made Memnon the son of Aurora, and bring him to the Trojan war in beautiful armour, and flushed with popular praise; where, thirsting after farther glory, and rashly hurrying on to the greatest enterprises, he engages the bravest warrior of all the Greeks, Achilles, and falls by his hand in single combat. Jupiter, in commiseration of his death, sent birds to grace his funeral, that perpetually chanted certain mournful and bewailing dirges. It is also reported, that the rays of the rising sun, striking his statue, used to give a lamenting sound.

EXPLANATION.—This fable regards the unfortunate end of those promising youths, who, like sons of the morning, elate with empty hopes and glittering outsides, attempt things beyond their strength: challenge the bravest heroes; provoke them to the combat; and proving unequal, die in their high attempts.

The death of such youths seldom fails to meet with infinite pity; as no mortal calamity is more moving and afflicting, than to see the flower of virtue cropped before its time. Nay, the prime of life enjoyed to the full, or even to a degree of envy, does not assuage or moderate the grief occasioned by the untimely death of such hopeful youths; but lamentations and bewailings fly, like mournful birds, about their tombs, for a long while after; especially upon all fresh occasions, new commotions, and the beginning of great actions, the passionate desire of them is renewed, as by the sun's morning rays.

XV.—TYTHONUS, OR SATIETY.

EXPLAINED OF PREDOMINANT PASSIONS.

IT is elegantly fabled by Tythonus, that being exceedingly beloved by Aurora, she petitioned Jupiter that he might prove immortal, thereby to secure herself the everlasting enjoyment of his company; but through female inadvertence she forgot to add, that he might never grow old; so that, though he proved immortal, he became miserably worn and consumed with age, insomuch that Jupiter, out of pity, at length transformed him to a grasshopper.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to contain an ingenious description of pleasure; which at first, as it were in the morning of the day, is so welcome, that men pray to have it everlasting, but forget that satiety and weariness of it will, like old age, overtake them, though they think not of it; so that at length, when their appetite for pleasurable actions is gone, their desires and affections often continue; whence we commonly find that aged persons delight themselves with the discourse and remembrance of the things agreeable to them in their better days. This is very remarkable in men of a

loose, and men of a military life; the former whereof are always talking over their amours, and the latter the exploits of their youth; like grasshoppers, that show their vigour only by their chirping.

XVI.—JUNO'S SUITOR, OR BASENESS.

EXPLAINED OF SUBMISSION AND ABJECTION.

THE poets tell us, that Jupiter, to carry on his love-intrigues, assumed many different shapes; as of a bull, an eagle, a swan, a golden shower, &c.; but when he attempted Juno, he turned himself into the most ignoble and ridiculous creature.—even that of a wretched, wet, weather-beaten, affrighted, trembling, and half-starved cuckoo.

EXPLANATION.—This is a wise fable, and drawn from the very entrails of morality. The moral is, that men should not be conceited of themselves, and imagine that a discovery of their excellences will always render them acceptable; for this can only succeed according to the nature and manners of the person they court, or solicit; who, if he be a man not of the same gifts and endowments, but altogether of a haughty and contemptuous behaviour, here represented by the person of Juno, they must entirely drop the character that carries the least show of worth, or gracefulness; if they proceed upon any other footing, it is downright folly; nor is it sufficient to act the deformity of obsequiousness, unless they really change themselves, and become abject and contemptible in their persons.

XVII.—CUPID, OR AN ATOM.

EXPLAINED OF THE CORPUSCULAR PHILOSOPHY.

THE particulars related by the poets of Cupid, or Love, do not properly agree to the same person; yet they differ only so far, that if the confusion of persons be rejected, the correspondence may hold. They say, that Love was the most ancient of all the gods, and existed before everything else, except Chaos, which is held coeval therewith. But for

Chaos, the ancients never paid divine honours, nor gave the title of a god thereto. Love is represented absolutely without progenitor, exceping only that he is said to have proceeded from the egg of Nox; but that himself begot the gods, and all things else, on Chaos. His attributes are four; viz., 1. perpetual infancy; 2. blindness; 3. nakedness; and 4. archery.

There was also another Cupid, or Love, the youngest son of the gods, born of Venus; and upon him the attributes of the elder are transferred, with some degree of correspondence.

EXPLANATION.—This fable points at, and enters, the cradle of nature. Love seems to be the appetite, or incentive, of the primitive matter; or, to speak more distinctly, the natural motion, or moving principle, of the original corpuscles, or atoms; this being the most ancient and only power that made and wrought all things out of matter. It is absolutely without parent, that is, without cause; for causes are as parents to effects; but this power or efficacy could have no natural cause; for, excepting God, nothing was before it; and therefore it could have no efficient in nature. And as nothing is more inward with nature, it can neither be a genus nor a form; and therefore, whatever it is, it must be somewhat positive, though inexpressible. And if it were possible to conceive its modus and process, yet it could not be known from its cause, as being, next to God, the cause of causes, and itself without a cause. And perhaps we are not to hope that the modus of it should fall, or be comprehended, under human inquiry. Whence it is properly feigned to be the egg of Nox, or laid in the dark.

The divine philosopher declares, that "God has made everything beautiful in its season; and has given over the world to our disputes and inquiries: but that man cannot find out the work which God has wrought, from its beginning up to its end." Thus the summary or collective law of nature, or the principle of love, impressed by God upon the original particles of all things, so as to make them attack each other and come together, by the repetition and multiplication whereof all the variety in the universe is produced, can scarce possibly find full admittance into the thoughts of

men, though some faint notion may be had thereof. The Greek philosophy is subtile, and busied in discovering the material principles of things, but negligent and languid in discovering the principles of motion, in which the energy and efficacy of every operation consists. And here the Greek philosophers seem perfectly blind and childish; for the opinion of the Peripatetics, as to the stimulus of matter, by privation, is little more than words, or rather sound than signification. And they who refer it to God, though they do well therein, yet they do it by a start, and not by proper degrees of assent; for doubtless there is one summary, or capital law, in which nature meets, subordinate to God, viz., the law mentioned in the passage above quoted from Solomon; or the work which God has wrought from its beginning up to its end.

Democritus, who farther considered this subject, having first supposed an atom, or corpuscle, of some dimension or figure, attributed thereto an appetite, desire, or first motion simply, and another comparatively, imagining that all things properly tended to the centre of the world; those containing more matter falling faster to the centre, and thereby removing, and in the shock driving away, such as held less. But this is a slender conceit, and regards too few particulars; for neither the revolutions of the celestial bodies, nor the contractions and expansions of things, can be reduced to this principle. And for the opinion of Epicurus, as to the declination and fortuitous agitation of atoms, this only brings the matter back again to a trifle, and wraps it up in ignorance and night.

Cupid is elegantly drawn a perpetual child; for compounds are larger things, and have their periods of age; but the first seeds or atoms of bodies are small, and remain in a perpetual infant state.

He is again justly represented naked; as all compounds may properly be said to be dressed and clothed, or to assume a personage; whence nothing remains truly naked, but the original particles of things.

The blindness of Cupid, contains a deep allegory; for this same Cupid, Love, or appetite of the world, seems to have very little foresight, but directs his steps and motions conformably to what he finds next him, as blind men do when

they feel out their way; which renders the divine and overruling Providence and foresight the more surprising; as by a certain steady law, it brings such a beautiful order and regularity of things out of what seems extremely casual, void of design, and, as it were, really blind.

The last attribute of Cupid is archery, viz., a virtue or power operating at a distance; for everything that operates at a distance, may seem, as it were, to dart, or shoot with arrows. And whoever allows of atoms and vacuity, necessarily supposes that the virtue of atoms operates at a distance; for without this operation, no motion could be excited, on account of the vacuum interposing, but all things would remain sluggish and unmoved.

As to the other Cupid, he is properly said to be the youngest sons of the gods, as his power could not take place before the formation of species, or particular bodies. The description given us of him transfers the allegory to morality, though he still retains some resemblance with the ancient Cupid; for as Venus universally excites the affection of association, and the desire of procreation, her son Cupid applies the affection to individuals; so that the general disposition proceeds from Venus, but the more close sympathy from Cupid. The former depends upon a near approximation of causes, but the latter upon deeper, more necessitating and uncontrollable principles, as if they proceeded from the ancient Cupid, on whom all exquisite sympathies depend.

XVIII.—DIOMED, OR ZEAL.

EXPLAINED OF PERSECUTION, OR ZEAL FOR RELIGION.

DIOMED acquired great glory and honour at the Trojan war, and was highly favoured by Pallas, who encouraged and excited him by no means to spare Venus, if he should casually meet her in fight. He followed the advice with too much eagerness and intrepidity, and accordingly wounded that goddess in her hand. This presumptuous action remained unpunished for a time, and when the war was ended he returned with great glory and renown to his own country where, finding himself embroiled with domestic affairs, he

retired into Italy. Here also at first he was well received and nobly entertained by King Daunus, who, besides other gifts and honours, erected statues for him over all his dominions. But upon the first calamity that afflicted the people after the stranger's arrival, Daunus immediately reflected that he entertained a devoted person in his palace, an enemy to the gods, and one who had sacrilegiously wounded a goddess with his sword, whom it was impious but to touch. To expiate, therefore, his country's guilt, he, without regard to the laws of hospitality, which were less regarded by him than the laws of religion, directly slew his guest, and commanded his statues and all his honours to be razed and abolished. Nor was it safe for others to commiserate or bewail so cruel a destiny; but even his companions in arms, whilst they lamented the death of their leader, and filled all places with their complaints, were turned into a kind of swans, which are said, at the approach of their own death, to chant sweet melancholy dirges.

Explanation.—This fable intimates an extraordinary and almost singular thing, for no hero besides Diomed is recorded to have wounded any of the gods. Doubtless we have here described the nature and fate of a man who professedly makes any divine worship or sect of religion, though in itself vain and light, the only scope of his actions, and resolves to propagate it by fire and sword. For although the bloody dissensions and differences about religion were unknown to the ancients, yet so copious and diffusive was their knowledge, that what they knew not by experience they comprehended in thought and representation. Those, therefore, who endeavour to reform or establish any sect of religion, though vain, corrupt, and infamous (which is here denoted under the person of Venus), not by the force of reason, learning, sanctity of manners, the weight of arguments, and examples, but would spread or extirpate it by persecution, pains, penalties, tortures, fire and sword, may perhaps be instigated hereto by Pallas, that is, by a certain rigid, prudential consideration, and a severity of judgment, by the vigour and efficacy whereof they see thoroughly into the fallacies and fictions of the delusions of this kind; and through aversion to depravity and a well-meant zeal, these

men usually for a time acquire great fame and glory, and are by the vulgar, to whom no moderate measures can be acceptable, extolled and almost adored, as the only patrons and protectors of truth and religion, men of any other disposition seeming, in comparison with these, to be lukewarm, mean-spirited, and cowardly. This fame and felicity, however, seldom endures to the end; but all violence, unless it escapes the reverses and changes of things by untimely death, is commonly unprosperous in the issue; and if a change of affairs happens, and that sect of religion which was persecuted and oppressed gains strength and rises again, then the zeal and warm endeavours of this sort of men are condemned, their very name becomes odious, and all their honours terminate in disgrace.

As to the point that Diomed should be slain by his hospitable entertainer, this denotes that religious dissensions may cause treachery, bloody animosities, and deceit, even between the nearest friends.

That complaining or bewailing should not, in so enormous a case, be permitted to friends affected by the catastrophe without punishment, includes this prudent admonition, that almost in all kinds of wickedness and depravity men have still room left for commiseration, so that they who hate the crime may yet pity the person and bewail his calamity, from a principle of humanity and good nature; and to forbid the overflowings and intercourses of pity upon such occasions were the extremest of evils; yet in the cause of religion and impiety the very commiserations of men are noted and suspected. On the other hand, the lamentations and complainings of the followers and attendants of Diomed, that is, of men of the same sect or persuasion, are usually very sweet, agreeable, and moving, like the dying notes of swans, or the birds of Diomed. This also is a noble and remarkable part of the allegory, denoting that the last words of those who suffer for the sake of religion strongly affect and sway men's minds, and leave a lasting impression upon the sense and memory.

XIX.—DÆDALUS, OR MECHANICAL SKILL.

EXPLAINED OF ARTS AND ARTISTS IN KINGDOMS AND STATES.

The ancients have left us a description of mechanical skill, industry, and curious arts converted to ill uses, in the person of Dædalus, a most ingenious but execrable artist. This Dædalus was banished for the murder of his brother artist and rival, yet found a kind reception in his banishment from the kings and states where he came. He raised many incomparable edifices to the honour of the gods, and invented many new contrivances for the beautifying and ennobling of cities and public places, but still he was most famous for wicked inventions. Among the rest, by his abominable industry and destructive genius, he assisted in the fatal and infamous production of the monster Minotaur, that devourer of promising youths. And then, to cover one mischief with another, and provide for the security of this monster, he invented and built a labyrinth; a work infamous for its end and design, but admirable and prodigious for art and workmanship. After this, that he might not only be celebrated for wicked inventions, but be sought after, as well for prevention, as for instruments of mischief, he formed that ingenious device of his clue, which led directly through all the windings of the labyrinth. This Dædalus was persecuted by Minos with the utmost severity, diligence, and inquiry; but he always found refuge and means of escaping. Lastly, endeavouring to teach his son Icarus the art of flying, the novice, trusting too much to his wings, fell from his towering flight, and was drowned in the sea.

Explanation.—The sense of the fable runs thus. It first denotes envy, which is continually upon the watch, and strangely prevails among excellent artificers; for no kind of people are observed to be more implacably and destructively envious to one another than these.

In the next place, it observes an impolitic and improvident kind of of punishment inflicted upon Dædalus,—that of banishment; for good workmen are gladly received every-

where, so that banishment to an excellent artificer is scarce any punishment at all; whereas other conditions of life cannot easily flourish from home. For the admiration of artists is propagated and increased among foreigners and strangers; it being a principle in the minds of men to slight and despise the mechanical operators of their own nation.

The succeeding part of the fable is plain, concerning the use of mechanic arts, whereto human life stands greatly indebted, as receiving from this treasury numerous particulars for the service of religion, the ornament of civil society, and the whole provision and apparatus of life; but then the same magazine supplies instruments of lust, cruelty, and death. For, not to mention the arts of luxury and debauchery, we plainly see how far the business of exquisite poisons, guns, engines of war, and such kind of destructive inventions, exceeds the cruelty and barbarity of the Minotaur himself.

The addition of the labyrinth contains a beautiful allegory, representing the nature of mechanic arts in general; for all ingenious and accurate mechanical inventions may be conceived as a labyrinth, which, by reason of their subtilty, intricacy, crossing, and interfering with one another, and the apparent resemblances they have among themselves, scarce any power of the judgment can unravel and distinguish; so that they are only to be understood and traced by the clue of experience.

It is no less prudently added, that he who invented the windings of the labyrinth, should also show the use and management of the clue; for mechanical arts have an ambiguous or double use, and serve as well to produce as to prevent mischief and destruction; so that their virtue almost destroys or unwinds itself.

Unlawful arts, and indeed frequently arts themselves, are persecuted by Minos, that is, by laws, which prohibit and forbid their use among the people; but notwithstanding this, they are hid, concealed, retained, and everywhere find reception and sculking-places; a thing well observed by Tacitus of the astrologers and fortune-tellers of his time. "These," says he, "are a kind of men that will always be prohibited, and yet will always be retained in our city."

But lastly, all unlawful and vain arts, of what kind soever

lose their reputation in tract of time; grow contemptible and perish, through their over-confidence, like Icarus; being commonly unable to perform what they boasted. And to say the truth, such arts are better suppressed by their own vain pretensions, than checked or restrained by the bridle of laws.[a]

XX.—ERICTHONIUS, OR IMPOSTURE.

EXPLAINED OF THE IMPROPER USE OF FORCE IN NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE poets feign that Vulcan attempted the chastity of Minerva, and impatient of refusal, had recourse to force; the consequence of which was the birth of Ericthonius, whose body from the middle upwards was comely and well-proportioned, but his thighs and legs small, shrunk, and deformed, like an eel. Conscious of this defect, he became the inventor of chariots, so as to show the graceful, but conceal the deformed part of his body.

EXPLANATION.—This strange fable seems to carry this meaning. Art is here represented under the person of Vulcan, by reason of the various uses it makes of fire; and nature under the person of Minerva, by reason of the industry employed in her works. Art, therefore, whenever it offers violence to nature, in order to conquer, subdue, and bend her to its purpose, by tortures and force of all kinds, seldom obtains the end proposed; yet upon great struggle and application, there proceed certain imperfect births, or lame abortive works, specious in appearance, but weak and unstable in use; which are, nevertheless, with great pomp and deceitful appearances, triumphantly carried about, and shown by impostors. A procedure very familiar, and remarkable in chemical productions, and new mechanical inventions; especially when the inventors rather hug their errors than improve upon them, and go on struggling with nature, not courting her.

[a] Bacon nowhere speaks with such freedom and perspicuity as under the pretext of explaining these ancient fables; for which reason they deserve to be the more read by such as desire to understand the rest of his works.

XXI.—DEUCALION, OR RESTITUTION.

EXPLAINED OF A USEFUL HINT IN NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE poets tell us, that the inhabitants of the old world being totally destroyed by the universal deluge, excepting Deucalion and Pyrrha, these two, desiring with zealous and fervent devotion to restore mankind, received this oracle for answer, that "they should succeed by throwing their mother's bones behind them." This at first cast them into great sorrow and despair, because, as all things were levelled by the deluge, it was in vain to seek their mother's tomb; but at length they understood the expression of the oracle to signify the stones of the earth, which is esteemed the mother of all things.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to reveal a secret of nature, and correct an error familiar to the mind; for men's ignorance leads them to expect the renovation or restoration of things from their corruption and remains, as the phœnix is said to be restored out of its ashes; which is a very improper procedure, because such kind of materials have finished their course, and are become absolutely unfit to supply the first rudiments of the same things again; whence, in cases of renovation, recourse should be had to more common principles.

XXII.—NEMESIS, OR THE VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

EXPLAINED OF THE REVERSES OF FORTUNE.

NEMESIS is represented as a goddess venerated by all, but feared by the powerful and the fortunate. She is said to be the daughter of Nox and Oceanus. She is drawn with wings, and a crown; a javelin of ash in her right hand; a glass containing Ethiopians in her left; and riding upon a stag.

EXPLANATION.—The fable receives this explanation. The word Nemesis manifestly signifies revenge, or retribution; for the office of this goddess consisted in interposing, like the Roman tribunes, with an "I forbid it" in all courses of con-

stant and perpetual felicity, so as not only to chastise haughtiness, but also to repay even innocent and moderate happiness with adversity; as if it were decreed, that none of human race should be admitted to the banquet of the gods, but for sport. And, indeed, to read over that chapter of Pliny wherein he has collected the miseries and misfortunes of Augustus Cæsar, whom of all mankind one would judge most fortunate,—as he had a certain art of using and enjoying prosperity, with a mind no way tumid, light, effeminate, confused, or melancholic,—one cannot but think this a very great and powerful goddess, who could bring such a victim to her altar.[a]

The parents of this goddess were Oceanus and Nox; that is, the fluctuating change of things, and the obscure and secret divine decrees. The changes of things are aptly represented by the Ocean, on account of its perpetual ebbing and flowing; and secret providence is justly expressed by Night. Even the heathens have observed this secret Nemesis of the night, or the difference betwixt divine and human judgment.[b]

Wings are given to Nemesis, because of the sudden and unforeseen changes of things; for, from the earliest account of time, it has been common for great and prudent men to fall by the dangers they most despised. Thus Cicero, when admonished by Brutus of the infidelity and rancour of Octavius, coolly wrote back, "I cannot, however, but be obliged to you, Brutus, as I ought, for informing me, though of such a trifle."[c]

Nemesis also has her crown, by reason of the invidious and malignant nature of the vulgar, who generally rejoice, triumph, and crown her, at the fall of the fortunate and the powerful. And for the javelin in her right hand, it has regard to those whom she has actually struck and transfixed. But whoever escapes her stroke, or feels not actual calamity or misfortune, she affrights with a black and dismal sight in

[a] As she also brought the author himself.

[b] "———— cadit Ripheus, justissimus unus,
Qui fuit ex Teucris, et servantissimus æqui:
Diis aliter visum."—Æneid, lib. ii.

[c] Te autem mi Brute sicut debeo, amo, quod istud quicquid est augurum me scire voluisti.

her left hand ; for doubtless, mortals on the highest pinnacle of felicity have a prospect of death, diseases, calamities, perfidious friends, undermining enemies, reverses of fortune, &c., represented by the Ethiopians in her glass. Thus Virgil, with great elegance, describing the battle of Actium, says of Cleopatra, that, "she did not yet perceive the two asps behind her ;"[d] but soon after, which way soever she turned, she saw whole troops of Ethiopians still before her.

Lastly, it is significantly added, that Nemesis rides upon a stag, which is a very long-lived creature; for though perhaps some, by an untimely death in youth, may prevent or escape this goddess, yet they who enjoy a long flow of happiness and power, doubtless become subject to her at length, and are brought to yield.

XXIII.—ACHELOUS, OR BATTLE.

EXPLAINED OF WAR BY INVASION.

THE ancients relate, that Hercules and Achelous being rivals in the courtship of Deianira, the matter was contested by single combat; when Achelous having transformed himself, as he had power to do, into various shapes, by way of trial; at length, in the form of a fierce wild bull, prepares himself for the fight; but Hercules still retains his human shape, engages sharply with him, and in the issue broke off one of the bull's horns; and now Achelous, in great pain and fright, to redeem his horn, presents Hercules with the cornucopia.

EXPLANATION.—This fable relates to military expeditions and preparations ; for the preparation of war on the defensive side, here denoted by Achelous, appears in various shapes, whilst the invading side has but one simple form, consisting either in an army, or perhaps a fleet. But the country that expects the invasion is employed infinite ways in fortifying towns, blockading passes, rivers, and ports, raising soldiers, disposing garrisons, building and breaking down bridges, procuring aids, securing provisions, arms, ammuni-

[d] "Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro ;
Necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues."—Æn. viii. 696.

tion, &c. So that there appears a new face of things every day; and at length, when the country is sufficiently fortified and prepared, it represents to the life the form and threats of a fierce fighting bull.

On the other side, the invader presses on to the fight, fearing to be distressed in an enemy's country. And if after the battle he remains master of the field, and has now broke, as it were, the horn of his enemy, the besieged, of course, retire inglorious, affrighted, and dismayed, to their strong-hold, there endeavouring to secure themselves, and repair their strength; leaving, at the same time, their country a prey to the conqueror, which is well expressed by the Amalthean horn, or cornucopia.

XXIV.—DIONYSUS, OR BACCHUS.[a]

EXPLAINED OF THE PASSIONS.

THE fable runs, that Semele, Jupiter's mistress, having bound him by an inviolable oath to grant her an unknown request, desired he would embrace her in the same form and manner he used to embrace Juno; and the promise being irrevocable, she was burnt to death with lightning in the performance. The embryo, however, was sewed up, and carried in Jupiter's thigh till the complete time of its birth; but the burthen thus rendering the father lame, and causing him pain, the child was thence called Dionysus. When born, he was committed, for some years, to be nursed by Proserpina; and when grown up, appeared with so effeminate a face, that his sex seemed somewhat doubtful. He also died, and was buried for a time, but afterwards revived. When a youth, he first introduced the cultivation and dressing of vines, the method of preparing wine, and taught the use thereof; whence becoming famous, he subdued the world, even to the utmost bounds of the Indies. He rode in a chariot drawn by tigers. There danced about him certain deformed demons called Cobali, &c. The Muses also joined in his train. He married Ariadne, who was deserted by Theseus. The ivy was sacred to him. He was also held the

[a] Ovid's Metamorphoses, b. iii. iv. and vi.; and Fasti, iii. 767.

inventor and institutor of religious rites and ceremonies, but such as were wild, frantic, and full of corruption and cruelty. He had also the power of striking men with frenzies. Pentheus and Orpheus were torn to pieces by the frantic women at his orgies; the first for climbing a tree to behold their outrageous ceremonies, and the other for the music of his harp. But the acts of this god are much entangled and confounded with those of Jupiter.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to contain a little system of morality, so that there is scarce any better invention in all ethics. Under the history of Bacchus is drawn the nature of unlawful desire or affection, and disorder; for the appetite and thirst of apparent good is the mother of all unlawful desire, though ever so destructive, and all unlawful desires are conceived in unlawful wishes or requests, rashly indulged or granted before they are well understood or considered, and when the affection begins to grow warm, the mother of it (the nature of good) is destroyed and burnt up by the heat. And whilst an unlawful desire lies in the embryo, or unripened in the mind, which is its father, and here represented by Jupiter, it is cherished and concealed, especially in the inferior part of the mind, corresponding to the thigh of the body, where pain twitches and depresses the mind so far as to render its resolutions and actions imperfect and lame. And even after this child of the mind is confirmed, and gains strength by consent and habit, and comes forth into action, it must still be nursed by Proserpina for a time; that is, it skulks and hides its head in a clandestine manner, as it were under ground, till at length, when the checks of shame and fear are removed, and the requisite boldness acquired, it either assumes the pretext of some virtue, or openly despises infamy. And it is justly observed, that every vehement passion appears of a doubtful sex, as having the strength of a man at first, but at last the impotence of a woman. It is also excellently added, that Bacchus died and rose again; for the affections sometimes seem to die and be no more; but there is no trusting them, even though they were buried, being always apt and ready to rise again whenever the occasion or object offers.

That Bacchus should be the inventor of wine carries a

fine allegory with it; for every affection is cunning and subtile in discovering a proper matter to nourish and feed it; and of all things known to mortals, wine is the most powerful and effectual for exciting and inflaming passions of all kinds, being indeed like a common fuel to all.

It is again with great elegance observed of Bacchus, that he subdued provinces, and undertook endless expeditions, for the affections never rest satisfied with what they enjoy, but with an endless and insatiable appetite thirst after something further. And tigers are prettily feigned to draw the chariot; for as soon as any affection shall, from going on foot, be advanced to ride, it triumphs over reason, and exerts its cruelty, fierceness, and strength against all that oppose it.

It is also humorously imagined, that ridiculous demons dance and frisk about this chariot; for every passion produces indecent, disorderly, interchangeable, and deformed motions in the eyes, countenance, and gesture, so that the person under the impulse, whether of anger, insult, love, &c., though to himself he may seem grand, lofty, or obliging, yet in the eyes of others appears mean, contemptible, or ridiculous.

The Muses also are found in the train of Bacchus, for there is scarce any passion without its art, science, or doctrine to court and flatter it; but in this respect the indulgence of men of genius has greatly detracted from the majesty of the Muses, who ought to be the leaders and conductors of human life, and not the handmaids of the passions.

The allegory of Bacchus falling in love with a cast mistress, is extremely noble; for it is certain that the affections always court and covet what has been rejected upon experience. And all those who by serving and indulging their passions immensely raise the value of enjoyment, should know, that whatever they covet and pursue, whether riches, pleasure, glory, learning, or anything else, they only pursue those things that have been forsaken and cast off with contempt by great numbers in all ages, after possession and experience.

Nor is it without a mystery that the ivy was sacred to Bacchus, and this for two reasons: first, because ivy is an evergreen, or flourishes in the winter; and secondly, because it winds and creeps about so many things, as trees, walls, and buildings, and raises itself above them. As to the

first, every passion grows fresh, strong, and vigorous by opposition and prohibition, as it were by a kind of contrast or antiperistasis, like the ivy in the winter. And for the second, the predominant passion of the mind throws itself, like the ivy, round all human actions, entwines all our resolutions, and perpetually adheres to, and mixes itself among, or even overtops them.

And no wonder that superstitious rites and ceremonies are attributed to Bacchus, when almost every ungovernable passion grows wanton and luxuriant in corrupt religions; nor again, that fury and frenzy should be sent and dealt out by him, because every passion is a short frenzy, and if it be vehement, lasting, and take deep root, it terminates in madness. And hence the allegory of Pentheus and Orpheus being torn to pieces is evident; for every headstrong passion is extremely bitter, severe, inveterate, and revengeful upon all curious inquiry, wholesome admonition, free counsel and persuasion.

Lastly, the confusion between the persons of Jupiter and Bacchus will justly admit of an allegory, because noble and meritorious actions may sometimes proceed from virtue, sound reason, and magnanimity, and sometimes again from a concealed passion and secret desire of ill, however they may be extolled and praised, insomuch that it is not easy to distinguish betwixt the acts of Bacchus and the acts of Jupiter.

XXV.—ATALANTA AND HIPPOMENES, OR GAIN.

EXPLAINED OF THE CONTEST BETWIXT ART AND NATURE.

Atalanta, who was exceeding fleet, contended with Hippomenes in the course, on condition that if Hippomenes won, he should espouse her, or forfeit his life if he lost. The match was very unequal, for Atalanta had conquered numbers, to their destruction. Hippomenes, therefore, had recourse to stratagem. He procured three golden apples, and purposely carried them with him: they started; Atalanta outstripped him soon; then Hippomenes bowled one of his apples before her, across the course, in order not only to make her stoop, but to draw her out of the path. She, prompted by female

curiosity, and the beauty of the golden fruit, starts from the course to take up the apple. Hippomenes, in the mean time, holds on his way, and steps before her; but she, by her natural swiftness, soon fetches up her lost ground, and leaves him again behind. Hippomenes, however, by rightly timing his second and third throw, at length won the race, not by his swiftness, but his cunning.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to contain a noble allegory of the contest betwixt art and nature. For art, here denoted by Atalanta, is much swifter, or more expeditious in its operations than nature, when all obstacles and impediments are removed, and sooner arrives at its end. This appears almost in every instance. Thus fruit comes slowly from the kernel, but soon by inoculation or incision; clay, left to itself, is a long time in acquiring a stony hardness, but is presently burnt by fire into brick. So again in human life, nature is a long while in alleviating and abolishing the remembrance of pain, and assuaging the troubles of the mind; but moral philosophy, which is the art of living, performs it presently. Yet this prerogative and singular efficacy of art is stopped and retarded to the infinite detriment of human life, by certain golden apples; for there is no one science or art that constantly holds on its true and proper course to the end, but they are all continually stopping short, forsaking the track, and turning aside to profit and convenience, exactly like Atalanta.[a] Whence it is no wonder that art gets not the victory over nature, nor, according to the condition of the contest, brings her under subjection; but, on the contrary, remains subject to her, as a wife to a husband.[b]

[a] "Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit."

[b] The author, in all his physical works, proceeds upon this foundation, that it is possible, and practicable, for art to obtain the victory over nature; that is, for human industry and power to procure, by the means of proper knowledge, such things as are necessary to render life as happy and commodious as its mortal state will allow. For instance, that it is possible to lengthen the present period of human life; bring the winds under command; and every way extend and enlarge the dominion or empire of man over the works of nature.

XXVI.—PROMETHEUS, OR THE STATE OF MAN.

EXPLAINED OF AN OVER-RULING PROVIDENCE, AND OF HUMAN NATURE.

THE ancients relate that man was the work of Prometheus, and formed of clay; only the artificer mixed in with the mass, particles taken from different animals. And being desirous to improve his workmanship, and endow, as well as create, the human race, he stole up to heaven with a bundle of birch-rods, and kindling them at the chariot of the Sun, thence brought down fire to the earth for the service of men.

They add, that for this meritorious act Prometheus was repayed with ingratitude by mankind, so that, forming a conspiracy, they arraigned both him and his invention before Jupiter. But the matter was otherwise received than they imagined; for the accusation proved extremely grateful to Jupiter and the gods, insomuch that, delighted with the action, they not only indulged mankind the use of fire, but moreover conferred upon them a most acceptable and desirable present, viz. perpetual youth.

But men, foolishly overjoyed hereat, laid this present of the gods upon an ass, who, in returning back with it, being extremely thirsty, strayed to a fountain. The serpent, who was guardian thereof, would not suffer him to drink, but upon condition of receiving the burden he carried, whatever it should be. The silly ass complied, and thus the perpetual renewal of youth was, for a drop of water, transferred from men to the race of serpents.

Prometheus, not desisting from his unwarrantable practices, though now reconciled to mankind, after they were thus tricked of their present, but still continuing inveterate against Jupiter, had the boldness to attempt deceit, even in a sacrifice, and is said to have once offered up two bulls to Jupiter, but so as in the hide of one of them to wrap all the flesh and fat of both, and stuffing out the other hide only with the bones; then in a religious and devout manner, gave Jupiter his choice of the two. Jupiter, detesting this sly fraud and hypocrisy, but having thus an opportunity of punishing the offender, purposely chose the mock bull.

And now giving way to revenge, but finding he could not chastise the insolence of Prometheus without afflicting the human race (in the production whereof Prometheus had strangely and insufferably prided himself), he commanded Vulcan to form a beautiful and graceful woman, to whom every god presented a certain gift, whence she was called Pandora.[a] They put into her hands an elegant box, containing all sorts of miseries and misfortunes; but Hope was placed at the bottom of it. With this box she first goes to Prometheus, to try if she could prevail upon him to receive and open it; but he, being upon his guard, warily refused the offer. Upon this refusal, she comes to his brother Epimetheus, a man of a very different temper, who rashly and inconsiderately opens the box. When finding all kinds of miseries and misfortunes issued out of it, he grew wise too late, and with great hurry and struggle endeavoured to clap the cover on again; but with all his endeavour could scarce keep in Hope, which lay at the bottom.

Lastly, Jupiter arraigned Prometheus of many heinous crimes: as that he formerly stole fire from heaven; that he contemptuously and deceitfully mocked him by a sacrifice of bones; that he despised his present,[b] adding withal a new crime, that he attempted to ravish Pallas: for all which, he was sentenced to be bound in chains, and doomed to perpetual torments. Accordingly, by Jupiter's command, he was brought to Mount Caucasus, and there fastened to a pillar, so firmly that he could no way stir. A vulture or eagle stood by him, which in the daytime gnawed and consumed his liver; but in the night the wasted parts were supplied again; whence matter for his pain was never wanting.

They relate, however, that his punishment had an end; for Hercules sailing the ocean, in a cup, or pitcher, presented him by the Sun, came at length to Caucasus, shot the eagle with his arrows, and set Prometheus free. In certain nations, also, there were instituted particular games of the torch, to the honour of Prometheus, in which they who ran for the prize carried lighted torches; and as any one of these torches happened to go out, the bearer withdrew himself, and

[a] = "All-gift."

[b] Viz., that by Pandora.

gave way to the next; and that person was allowed to win the prize who first brought in his lighted torch to the goal.

Explanation.—This fable contains and enforces many just and serious considerations; some whereof have been long since well observed, but some again remain perfectly untouched. Prometheus clearly and expressly signifies Providence; for of all the things in nature, the formation and endowment of man was singled out by the ancients, and esteemed the peculiar work of Providence. The reason hereof seems, 1. That the nature of man includes a mind and understanding, which is the seat of Providence 2. That it is harsh and incredible to suppose reason and mind should be raised, and drawn out of senseless and irrational principles; whence it becomes almost inevitable, that providence is implanted in the human mind in conformity with, and by the direction and the design of the greater over-ruling Providence. But, 3. The principal cause is this: that man seems to be the thing in which the whole world centres, with respect to final causes; so that if he were away, all other things would stray and fluctuate, without end or intention, or become perfectly disjointed, and out of frame; for all things are made subservient to man, and he receives use and benefit from them all. Thus the revolutions, places, and periods, of the celestial bodies, serve him for distinguishing times and seasons, and for dividing the world into different regions; the meteors afford him prognostications of the weather; the winds sail our ships, drive our mills, and move our machines; and the vegetables and animals of all kinds either afford us matter for houses and habitations, clothing, food, physic, or tend to ease, or delight, to support, or refresh us: so that everything in nature seems not made for itself, but for man.

And it is not without reason added, that the mass of matter whereof man was formed, should be mixed up with particles taken from different animals, and wrought in with the clay, because it is certain, that of all things in the universe, man is the most compounded and recompounded body; so that the ancients not improperly styled him a Microcosm, or little world within himself. For although the chemists have absurdly, and too literally wrested and per-

verted the elegance of the term microcosm, whilst they pretend to find all kind of mineral and vegetable matters, or something corresponding to them, in man, yet it remains firm and unshaken, that the human body is of all substances the most mixed and organical; whence it has surprising powers and faculties: for the powers of simple bodies are but few, though certain and quick; as being little broken, or weakened, and not counterbalanced by mixture: but excellence and quantity of energy reside in mixture and composition.

Man, however, in his first origin, seems to be a defenceless naked creature, slow in assisting himself, and standing in need of numerous things. Prometheus, therefore, hastened to the invention of fire, which supplies and administers to nearly all human uses and necessities, insomuch that, if the soul may be called the form of forms, if the hand may be called the instrument of instruments, fire may, as properly, be called the assistant of assistants, or the helper of helps; for hence proceed numberless operations, hence all the mechanic arts, and hence infinite assistances are afforded to the sciences themselves.

The manner wherein Prometheus stole this fire is properly described from the nature of the thing; he being said to have done it by applying a rod of birch to the chariot of the Sun: for birch is used in striking and beating, which clearly denotes the generation of fire to be from the violent percussions and collisions of bodies; whereby the matters struck are subtilized, rarefied, put into motion, and so prepared to receive the heat of the celestial bodies; whence they, in a clandestine and secret manner, collect and snatch fire, as it were by stealth, from the chariot of the Sun.

The next is a remarkable part of the fable, which represents that men, instead of gratitude and thanks, fell into indignation and expostulation, accusing both Prometheus and his fire to Jupiter, — and yet the accusation proved highly pleasing to Jupiter; so that he, for this reason, crowned these benefits of mankind with a new bounty. Here it may seem strange that the sin of ingratitude to a creator and benefactor, a sin so heinous as to include almost all others, should meet with approbation and reward. But the allegory has another view, and denotes, that the accusation and arraignment, both of human nature and human

art among mankind, proceeds from a most noble and laudable temper of the mind, and tends to a very good purpose; whereas the contrary temper is odious to the gods, and unbeneficial in itself. For they who break into extravagant praises of human nature, and the arts in vogue, and who lay themselves out in admiring the things they already possess, and will needs have the sciences cultivated among them, to be thought absolutely perfect and complete, in the first place, show little regard to the divine nature, whilst they extol their own inventions almost as high as his perfection. In the next place, men of this temper are unserviceable and prejudicial in life, whilst they imagine themselves already got to the top of things, and there rest, without farther inquiry. On the contrary, they who arraign and accuse both nature and art, and are always full of complaints against them, not only preserve a more just and modest sense of mind, but are also perpetually stirred up to fresh industry and new discoveries. Is not, then, the ignorance and fatality of mankind to be extremely pitied, whilst they remain slaves to the arrogance of a few of their own fellows, and are dotingly fond of that scrap of Grecian knowledge, the Peripatetic philosophy; and this to such a degree, as not only to think all accusation or arraignment thereof useless, but even hold it suspect and dangerous? Certainly the procedure of Empedocles, though furious—but especially that of Democritus (who with great modesty complained that all things were abstruse; that we know nothing; that truth lies hid in deep pits; that falsehood is strangely joined and twisted along with truth, &c.)—is to be preferred before the confident, assuming, and dogmatical school of Aristotle. Mankind are, therefore, to be admonished, that the arraignment of nature and of art is pleasing to the gods; and that sharp and vehement accusation of Prometheus, though creator, a founder, and a master, obtained new blessings and presents from the divine bounty, and proved more sound and serviceable than a diffusive harangue of praise and gratulation. And let men be assured, that the fond opinion that they have already acquired enough, is a principal reason why they have acquired so little.

That the perpetual flower of youth should be the present which mankind received as a reward for their accusation,

carries this moral: that the ancients seem not to have despaired of discovering methods, and remedies, for retarding old age, and prolonging the period of human life, but rather reckoned it among those things which, through sloth and want of diligent inquiry, perish and come to nothing, after having been once undertaken, than among such as are absolutely impossible, or placed beyond the reach of the human power. For they signify and intimate from the true use of fire, and the just and strenuous accusation and conviction of the errors of art, that the divine bounty is not wanting to men in such kind of presents, but that men indeed are wanting to themselves, and lay such an inestimable gift upon the back of a slow-paced ass; that is, upon the back of the heavy, dull, lingering thing, experience; from whose sluggish and tortoise-pace proceeds that ancient complaint of the shortness of life, and the slow advancement of arts. And certainly it may well seem, that the two faculties of reasoning and experience are not hitherto properly joined and coupled together, but to be still new gifts of the gods, separately laid, the one upon the back of a light bird, or abstract philosophy, and the other upon an ass, or slow-paced practice and trial. And yet good hopes might be conceived of this ass, if it were not for his thirst and the accidents of the way. For we judge, that if any one would constantly proceed, by a certain law and method, in the road of experience, and not by the way thirst after such experiments as make for profit or ostentation, nor exchange his burden, or quit the original design for the sake of these, he might be an useful bearer of a new and accumulated divine bounty to mankind.

That this gift of perpetual youth should pass from men to serpents, seems added by way of ornament, and illustration to the fable; perhaps intimating, at the same time, the shame it is for men, that they, with their fire, and numerous arts, cannot procure to themselves those things which nature has bestowed upon many other creatures.

The sudden reconciliation of Prometheus to mankind, after being disappointed of their hopes, contains a prudent and useful admonition. It points out the levity and temerity of men in new experiments, when, not presently succeeding, or answering to expectation, they precipitantly quit their

new undertakings, hurry back to their old ones, and grow reconciled thereto.

After the fable has described the state of man, with regard to arts and intellectual matters, it passes on to religion; for after the inventing and settling of arts, follows the establishment of divine worship, which hypocrisy presently enters into and corrupts. So that by the two sacrifices we have elegantly painted the person of a man truly religious, and of an hypocrite. One of these sacrifices contained the fat, or the portion of God, used for burning and incensing; thereby denoting affection and zeal, offered up to his glory. It likewise contained the bowels, which are expressive of charity, along with the good and useful flesh. But the other contained nothing more than dry bones, which nevertheless stuffed out the hide, so as to make it resemble a fair, beautiful, and magnificent sacrifice; hereby finely denoting the external and empty rites and barren ceremonies, wherewith men burden and stuff out the divine worship,—things rather intended for show and ostentation than conducing to piety:—Nor are mankind simply content with this mock-worship of God, but also impose and father it upon him, as if he had chosen and ordained it. Certainly the prophet, in the person of God, has a fine expostulation, as to this matter of choice:—"Is this the fasting which I have chosen, that a man should afflict his soul for a day, and bow down his head like a bulrush?"

After thus touching the state of religion, the fable next turns to manners, and the conditions of human life. And though it be a very common, yet is it a just interpretation, that Pandora denotes the pleasures and licentiousness which the cultivation and luxury of the arts of civil life introduce, as it were, by the instrumental efficacy of fire; whence the works of the voluptuary arts are properly attributed to Vulcan, the God of Fire. And hence infinite miseries and calamities have proceeded to the minds, the bodies, and the fortunes of men, together with a late repentance; and this not only in each man's particular, but also in kingdoms and states; for wars, and tumults, and tyrannies, have all arisen from this same fountain, or box of Pandora.

It is worth observing, how beautifully and elegantly the fable has drawn two reigning characters in human life, and

given two examples, or tablatures of them, under the persons of Prometheus and Epimetheus. The followers of Epimetheus are improvident, see not far before them, and prefer such things as are agreeable for the present; whence they are oppressed with numerous straits, difficulties, and calamities, with which they almost continually struggle; but in the mean time gratify their own temper, and, for want of a better knowledge of things, feed their minds with many vain hopes; and as with so many pleasing dreams, delight themselves, and sweeten the miseries of life.

But the followers of Prometheus are the prudent, wary men, that look into futurity, and cautiously guard against, prevent, and undermine many calamities and misfortunes. But this watchful, provident temper, is attended with a deprivation of numerous pleasures, and the loss of various delights, whilst such men debar themselves the use even of innocent things, and what is still worse, rack and torture themselves with cares, fears, and disquiets; being bound fast to the pillar of necessity, and tormented with numberless thoughts (which for their swiftness are well compared to an eagle), that continually wound, tear, and gnaw their liver or mind, unless, perhaps, they find some small remission by intervals, or as it were at nights; but then new anxieties, dreads, and fears, soon return again, as it were in the morning. And, therefore, very few men, of either temper, have secured to themselves the advantages of providence, and kept clear of disquiets, troubles, and misfortunes.

Nor indeed can any man obtain this end without the assistance of Hercules; that is, of such fortitude and constancy of mind as stands prepared against every event, and remains indifferent to every change; looking forward without being daunted, enjoying the good without disdain, and enduring the bad without impatience. And it must be observed, that even Prometheus had not the power to free himself, but owed his deliverance to another; for no natural inbred force and fortitude could prove equal to such a task. The power of releasing him came from the utmost confines of the ocean, and from the sun; that is, from Apollo, or knowledge; and again, from a due consideration of the uncertainty, instability, and fluctuating state of human life, which is aptly represented by sailing the ocean. Accord-

ingly, Virgil has prudently joined these two together, accounting him happy who knows the causes of things, and has conquered all his fears, apprehensions, and superstitions.[c]

It is added, with great elegance, for supporting and confirming the human mind, that the great hero who thus delivered him sailed the ocean in a cup, or pitcher, to prevent fear, or complaint; as if, through the narrowness of our nature, or a too great fragility thereof, we were absolutely incapable of that fortitude and constancy to which Seneca finely alludes, when he says, "It is a noble thing, at once to participate in the frailty of man and the security of a god."

We have hitherto, that we might not break the connection of things, designedly omitted the last crime of Prometheus—that of attempting the chastity of Minerva—which heinous offence it doubtless was, that caused the punishment of having his liver gnawed by the vulture. The meaning seems to be this,—that when men are puffed up with arts and knowledge, they often try to subdue even the divine wisdom and bring it under the dominion of sense and reason, whence inevitably follows a perpetual and restless rending and tearing of the mind. A sober and humble distinction must, therefore, be made betwixt divine and human things, and betwixt the oracles of sense and faith, unless mankind had rather choose an heretical religion, and a fictitious and romantic philosophy.[d]

The last particular in the fable is the Games of the Torch, instituted to Prometheus, which again relates to arts and sciences, as well as the invention of fire, for the commemoration and celebration whereof these games were held. And here we have an extremely prudent admonition, directing us to expect the perfection of the sciences from succession, and not from the swiftness and abilities of any single person; for he who is fleetest and strongest in the course may perhaps be less fit to keep his torch a-light, since there is danger of its going out from too rapid as well as from too slow a motion.[e]

[c] "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari."—Georg. ii. 490.

[d] *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, sec. xxviii. and supplem. xv.

[e] An allusion which, in Plato's writings, is applied to the rapid succession of generations, through which the continuity of human life is

But this kind of contest, with the torch, seems to have been long dropped and neglected; the sciences appearing to have flourished principally in their first authors, as Aristotle, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy, &c.; whilst their successors have done very little, or scarce made any attempts. But it were highly to be wished that these games might be renewed, to the honour of Prometheus, or human nature, and that they might excite contest, emulation, and laudable endeavours, and the design meet with such success as not to hang tottering, tremulous, and hazarded, upon the torch of any single person. Mankind, therefore, should be admonished to rouse themselves, and try and exert their own strength and chance, and not place all their dependence upon a few men, whose abilities and capacities, perhaps, are not greater than their own.

These are the particulars which appear to us shadowed out by this trite and vulgar fable, though without denying that there may be contained in it several intimations that have a surprising correspondence with the Christian mysteries. In particular, the voyage of Hercules, made in a pitcher, to release Prometheus, bears an allusion to the word of God, coming in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem mankind. But we indulge ourselves no such liberties as these, for fear of using strange fire at the altar of the Lord.

XXVII.—ICARUS AND SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS, OR THE MIDDLE WAY.

EXPLAINED OF MEDIOCRITY IN NATURAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

MEDIOCRITY, or the holding a middle course, has been highly extolled in morality, but little in matters of science, though no less useful and proper here; whilst in politics it is held suspected, and ought to be employed with judgment. The ancients described mediocrity in manners by the course pre-

maintained from age to age; and which are perpetually transferring from hand to hand the concerns and duties of this fleeting scene. Γεννῶντες τε καὶ ἐκτρέφοντες παῖδας, κάθαπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντες ἄλλοις ἐξ ἄλλων.—Plato, Leg. b. vi. Lucretius also has the same metaphor:—

"Et quasi cursores vitaï lampada tradunt."

scribed to Icarus; and in matters of the understanding by the steering betwixt Scylla and Charybdis, on account of the great difficulty and danger in passing those straits.

Icarus, being to fly across the sea, was ordered by his father neither to soar too high nor fly too low, for, as his wings were fastened together with wax, there was danger of its melting by the sun's heat in too high a flight, and of its becoming less tenacious by the moisture if he kept too near the vapour of the sea. But he, with a juvenile confidence, soared aloft, and fell down headlong.

EXPLANATION.—The fable is vulgar, and easily interpreted; for the path of virtue lies straight between excess on the one side, and defect on the other. And no wonder that excess should prove the bane of Icarus, exulting in juvenile strength and vigour; for excess is the natural vice of youth, as defect is that of old age; and if a man must perish by either, Icarus chose the better of the two; for all defects are justly esteemed more depraved than excesses. There is some magnanimity in excess, that, like a bird, claims kindred with the heavens; but defect is a reptile, that basely crawls upon the earth. It was excellently said by Heraclitus, "A dry light makes the best soul;" for if the soul contracts moisture from the earth, it perfectly degenerates and sinks. On the other hand, moderation must be observed, to prevent this fine light from burning, by its too great subtilty and dryness. But these observations are common.

In matters of the understanding, it requires great skill and a particular felicity to steer clear of Scylla and Charybdis. If the ship strikes upon Scylla, it is dashed in pieces against the rocks; if upon Charybdis, it is swallowed outright. This allegory is pregnant with matter; but we shall only observe the force of it lies here, that a mean be observed in every doctrine and science, and in the rules and axioms thereof, between the rocks of distinctions and the whirlpools of universalities; for these two are the bane and shipwreck of fine geniuses and arts.

XXVIII.—SPHINX, OR SCIENCE.

EXPLAINED OF THE SCIENCES.

They relate that Sphinx was a monster, variously formed, having the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, and the talons of a griffin. She resided on the top of a mountain, near the city Thebes, and also beset the highways. Her manner was to lie in ambush and seize the travellers, and having them in her power, to propose to them certain dark and perplexed riddles, which it was thought she received from the Muses, and if her wretched captives could not solve and interpret these riddles, she with great cruelty fell upon them, in their hesitation and confusion, and tore them to pieces. This plague having reigned a long time, the Thebans at length offered their kingdom to the man who could interpret her riddles, there being no other way to subdue her. Œdipus, a penetrating and prudent man, though lame in his feet, excited by so great a reward, accepted the condition, and with a good assurance of mind, cheerfully presented himself before the monster, who directly asked him, "What creature that was, which being born four-footed, afterwards became two-footed, then three-footed, and lastly four-footed again?" Œdipus, with presence of mind, replied it was man, who, upon his first birth and infant state, crawled upon all fours in endeavouring to walk; but not long after went upright upon his two natural feet; again, in old age walked three-footed, with a stick; and at last, growing decrepit, lay four-footed confined to his bed; and having by this exact solution obtained the victory, he slew the monster, and, laying the carcass upon an ass, led her away in triumph; and upon this he was, according to the agreement, made king of Thebes.

Explanation.—This is an elegant, instructive fable, and seems invented to represent science, especially as joined with practice. For science may, without absurdity, be called a monster, being strangely gazed at and admired by the ignorant and unskilful. Her figure and form is various, by reason of the vast variety of subjects that science considers; her voice and countenance are represented female, by reason

of her gay appearance and volubility of speech; wings are added, because the sciences and their inventions run and fly about in a moment, for knowledge, like light communicated from one torch to another, is presently caught and copiously diffused; sharp and hooked talons are elegantly attributed to her, because the axioms and arguments of science enter the mind, lay hold of it, fix it down, and keep it from moving or slipping away. This the sacred philosopher observed, when he said, "The words of the wise are like goads or nails driven far in."[a] Again, all science seems placed on high, as it were on the tops of mountains that are hard to climb; for science is justly imagined a sublime and lofty thing, looking down upon ignorance from an eminence, and at the same time taking an extensive view on all sides, as is usual on the tops of mountains. Science is said to beset the highways, because through all the journey and peregrination of human life there is matter and occasion offered of contemplation.

Sphinx is said to propose various difficult questions and riddles to men, which she received from the Muses; and these questions, so long as they remain with the Muses, may very well be unaccompanied with severity, for while there is no other end of contemplation and inquiry but that of knowledge alone, the understanding is not oppressed, or driven to straits and difficulties, but expatiates and ranges at large, and even receives a degree of pleasure from doubt and variety; but after the Muses have given over their riddles to Sphinx, that is, to practice, which urges and impels to action, choice, and determination, then it is that they become torturing, severe, and trying, and, unless solved and interpreted, strangely perplex and harass the human mind, rend it every way, and perfectly tear it to pieces. All the riddles of Sphinx, therefore, have two conditions annexed, viz., dilaceration to those who do not solve them, and empire to those that do. For he who understands the thing proposed obtains his end, and every artificer rules over his work.[b]

Sphinx has no more than two kinds of riddles, one relating

[a] Eccles. xii. 11.

[b] This is what the author so frequently inculcates in the *Novum Organum*, viz., that knowledge and power are reciprocal; so that to improve in knowledge is to improve in the power of commanding nature, by introducing new arts, and producing works and effects.

to the nature of things, the other to the nature of man; and correspondent to these, the prizes of the solution are two kinds of empire,—the empire over nature, and the empire over man. For the true and ultimate end of natural philosophy is dominion over natural things, natural bodies, remedies, machines, and numberless other particulars, though the schools, contented with what spontaneously offers, and swollen with their own discourses, neglect, and in a manner despise, both things and works.

But the riddle proposed to Œdipus, the solution whereof acquired him the Theban kingdom, regarded the nature of man; for he who has thoroughly looked into and examined human nature, may in a manner command his own fortune, and seems born to acquire dominion and rule. Accordingly, Virgil properly makes the arts of government to be the arts of the Romans.[c] It was, therefore, extremely apposite in Augustus Cæsar to use the image of Sphinx in his signet, whether this happened by accident or by design; for he of all men was deeply versed in politics, and through the course of his life very happily solved abundance of new riddles with regard to the nature of man; and unless he had done this with great dexterity and ready address, he would frequently have been involved in imminent danger, if not destruction.

It is with the utmost elegance added in the fable, that when Sphinx was conquered, her carcass was laid upon an ass; for there is nothing so subtile and abstruse, but after being once made plain, intelligible, and common, it may be received by the slowest capacity.

We must not omit that Sphinx was conquered by a lame man, and impotent in his feet; for men usually make too much haste to the solution of Sphinx's riddles; whence it happens, that she prevailing, their minds are rather racked and torn by disputes, than invested with command by works and effects.

> "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
> Hæ tibi erunt artes."—Æn. vi. 851.

XXIX.—PROSERPINE, OR SPIRIT.

EXPLAINED OF THE SPIRIT INCLUDED IN NATURAL BODIES.

THEY tell us, Pluto having, upon that memorable division of empire among the gods, received the infernal regions for his share, despaired of winning any one of the goddesses in marriage by an obsequious courtship, and therefore through necessity resolved upon a rape. Having watched his opportunity, he suddenly seized upon Proserpine, a most beautiful virgin, the daughter of Ceres, as she was gathering narcissus flowers in the meads of Sicily, and hurrying her to his chariot, carried her with him to the subterraneal regions, where she was treated with the highest reverence, and styled the Lady of Dis. But Ceres missing her only daughter, whom she extremely loved, grew pensive and anxious beyond measure, and taking a lighted torch in her hand, wandered the world over in quest of her daughter,—but all to no purpose, till, suspecting she might be carried to the infernal regions, she, with great lamentation and abundance of tears, importuned Jupiter to restore her; and with much ado prevailed so far as to recover and bring her away, if she had tasted nothing there. This proved a hard condition upon the mother, for Proserpine was found to have eaten three kernels of a pomegranate. Ceres, however, desisted not, but fell to her entreaties and lamentations afresh, insomuch that at last it was indulged her that Proserpine should divide the year betwixt her husband and her mother, and live six months with the one and as many with the other. After this, Theseus and Perithous, with uncommon audacity, attempted to force Proserpine away from Pluto's bed, but happening to grow tired in their journey, and resting themselves upon a stone in the realms below, they could never rise from it again, but remain sitting there for ever. Proserpine, therefore, still continued queen of the lower regions, in honour of whom there was also added this grand privilege, that though it had never been permitted any one to return after having once descended thither, a particular exception was made, that he who brought a golden bough as a present to Proserpine, might on that condition descend and

return. This was an only bough that grew in a large dark grove, not from a tree of its own, but like the mistletoe, from another, and when plucked away a fresh one always shot out in its stead.

EXPLANATION.—This fable seems to regard natural philosophy, and searches deep into that rich and fruitful virtue and supply in subterraneous bodies, from whence all the things upon the earth's surface spring, and into which they again relapse and return. By Proserpine the ancients denoted that ethereal spirit shut up and detained within the earth, here represented by Pluto,—the spirit being separated from the superior globe, according to the expression of the poet.[a] This spirit is conceived as ravished, or snatched up by the earth, because it can no way be detained, when it has time and opportunity to fly off, but is only wrought together and fixed by sudden intermixture and comminution, in the same manner as if one should endeavour to mix air with water, which cannot otherwise be done than by a quick and rapid agitation, that joins them together in froth whilst the air is thus caught up by the water. And it is elegantly added, that Proserpine was ravished whilst she gathered narcissus flowers, which have their name from numbedness or stupefaction; for the spirit we speak of is in the fittest disposition to be embraced by terrestrial matter when it begins to coagulate, or grow torpid as it were.

It is an honour justly attributed to Proserpine, and not to any other wife of the gods, that of being the lady or mistress of her husband, because this spirit performs all its operations in the subterraneal regions, whilst Pluto, or the earth, remains stupid, or as it were ignorant of them.

The æther, or the efficacy of the heavenly bodies, denoted by Ceres, endeavours with infinite diligence to force out this spirit, and restore it to its pristine state. And by the torch in the hand of Ceres, or the æther, is doubtless meant the sun, which disperses light over the whole globe of the earth, and if the thing were possible, must have the greatest share in recovering Proserpine, or reinstating the subterraneal spirit. Yet Proserpine still continues and dwells below,

[a] "Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alta
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli."—Metam. i. 80.

after the manner excellently described in the condition betwixt Jupiter and Ceres. For first, it is certain that there are two ways of detaining the spirit, in solid and terrestrial matter,—the one by condensation or obstruction, which is mere violence and imprisonment; the other by administering a proper aliment, which is spontaneous and free. For after the included spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it is not in a hurry to fly off, but remains as it were fixed in its own earth. And this is the moral of Proserpine's tasting the pomegranate; and were it not for this, she must long ago have been carried up by Ceres, who with her torch wandered the world over, and so the earth have been left without its spirit. For though the spirit in metals and minerals may perhaps be, after a particular manner, wrought in by the solidity of the mass, yet the spirit of vegetables and animals has open passages to escape at, unless it be willingly detained, in the way of sipping and tasting them.

The second article of agreement, that of Proserpine's remaining six months with her mother and six with her husband, is an elegant description of the division of the year; for the spirit diffused through the earth lives above-ground in the vegetable world during the summer months, but in the winter returns under-ground again.

The attempt of Theseus and Perithous to bring Proserpine away, denotes that the more subtile spirits, which descend in many bodies to the earth, may frequently be unable to drink in, unite with themselves, and carry off the subterraneous spirit, but on the contrary be coagulated by it, and rise no more, so as to increase the inhabitants and add to the dominion of Proserpine.[b]

The alchemists will be apt to fall in with our interpretation of the golden bough, whether we will or no, because they promise golden mountains, and the restoration of natural bodies from their stone, as from the gates of Pluto; but we are well assured that their theory has no just foundation, and suspect they have no very encouraging or practical

[b] Many philosophers have certain speculations to this purpose. Sir Isaac Newton, in particular, suspects that the earth receives its vivifying spirit from the comets. And the philosophical chemists and astrologers have spun the thought into many fantastical distinctions and varieties. See Newton. Princip. lib. iii. p. 473, &c.

proofs of its soundness. Leaving, therefore, their conceits to themselves, we shall freely declare our own sentiments upon this last part of the fable. We are certain, from numerous figures and expressions of the ancients, that they judged the conservation, and in some degree the renovation, of natural bodies to be no desperate or impossible thing, but rather abstruse and out of the common road than wholly impracticable. And this seems to be their opinion in the present case, as they have placed this bough among an infinite number of shrubs, in a spacious and thick wood. They supposed it of gold, because gold is the emblem of duration. They feigned it adventitious, not native, because such an effect is to be expected from art, and not from any medicine or any simple or mere natural way of working.

XXX.—METIS, OR COUNSEL.

EXPLAINED OF PRINCES AND THEIR COUNCIL.

THE ancient poets relate that Jupiter took Metis to wife, whose name plainly denotes counsel, and that he, perceiving she was pregnant by him, would by no means wait the time of her delivery, but directly devoured her; whence himself also became pregnant, and was delivered in a wonderful manner; for he from his head or brain brought forth Pallas armed.

EXPLANATION.—This fable, which in its literal sense appears monstrously absurd, seems to contain a state secret, and shows with what art kings usually carry themselves towards their council, in order to preserve their own authority and majesty not only inviolate, but so as to have it magnified and heightened among the people. For kings commonly link themselves as it were in a nuptial bond to their council, and deliberate and communicate with them after a prudent and laudable custom upon matters of the greatest importance, at the same time justly conceiving this no diminution of their majesty; but when the matter once ripens to a decree or order, which is a kind of birth, the king then suffers the

council to go on no further, lest the act should seem to depend upon their pleasure. Now, therefore, the king usually assumes to himself whatever was wrought, elaborated, or formed, as it were, in the womb of the council (unless it be a matter of an invidious nature, which he is sure to put from him), so that the decree and the execution shall seem to flow from himself.[a] And as this decree or execution proceeds with prudence and power, so as to imply necessity, it is elegantly wrapt up under the figure of Pallas armed.

Nor are kings content to have this seem the effect of their own authority, free will, and uncontrollable choice, unless they also take the whole honour to themselves, and make the people imagine that all good and wholesome decrees proceed entirely from their own head, that is, their own sole prudence and judgment.

XXXI.—THE SIRENS, OR PLEASURES.

EXPLAINED OF MEN'S PASSION FOR PLEASURES.

INTRODUCTION.—The fable of the Sirens is, in a vulgar sense, justly enough explained of the pernicious incentives to pleasure; but the ancient mythology seems to us like a vintage ill-pressed and trod; for though something has been drawn from it, yet all the more excellent parts remain behind in the grapes that are untouched.

FABLE.—The Sirens are said to be the daughters of Achelous and Terpsichore, one of the Muses. In their early days they had wings, but lost them upon being conquered by the Muses, with whom they rashly contended; and with the feathers of these wings the Muses made themselves crowns, so that from this time the Muses wore wings on their heads, excepting only the mother to the Sirens.

[a] This policy strikingly characterized the conduct of Louis XIV., who placed his generals under a particular injunction, to advertise him of the success of any siege likely to be crowned with an immediate triumph, that he might attend in person and appear to take the town by a *coup de main*.

These Sirens resided in certain pleasant islands, and when, from their watch-tower, they saw any ship approaching, they first detained the sailors by their music, then, enticing them to shore, destroyed them.

Their singing was not of one and the same kind, but they adapted their tunes exactly to the nature of each person, in order to captivate and secure him. And so destructive had they been, that these islands of the Sirens appeared, to a very great distance, white with the bones of their unburied captives.

Two different remedies were invented to protect persons against them, the one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses commanded his associates to stop their ears close with wax; and he, determining to make the trial, and yet avoid the danger, ordered himself to be tied fast to a mast of the ship, giving strict charge not to be unbound, even though himself should entreat it; but Orpheus, without any binding at all, escaped the danger, by loudly chanting to his harp the praises of the gods, whereby he drowned the voices of the Sirens.

EXPLANATION.—This fable is of the moral kind, and appears no less elegant than easy to interpret. For pleasures proceed from plenty and affluence, attended with activity or exultation of the mind.[a] Anciently their first incentives were quick, and seized upon men as if they had been winged, but learning and philosophy afterwards prevailing, had at least the power to lay the mind under some restraint, and make it consider the issue of things, and thus deprived pleasures of their wings.

This conquest redounded greatly to the honour and ornament of the Muses; for after it appeared, by the example of a few, that philosophy could introduce a contempt of pleasures, it immediately seemed to be a sublime thing that could raise and elevate the soul, fixed in a manner down to the earth, and thus render men's thoughts, which reside in the head, winged as it were, or sublime.

Only the mother of the Sirens was not thus plumed on the head, which doubtless denotes superficial learning, in-

[a] The one denoted by the river Achelous, and the other by Terpsichore, the muse that invented the cithara and delighted in dancing.

vented and used for delight and levity ; an eminent example whereof we have in Petronius, who, after receiving sentence of death, still continued his gay frothy humour, and, as Tacitus observes, used his learning to solace or divert himself, and instead of such discourses as give firmness and constancy of mind, read nothing but loose poems and verses.[b] Such learning as this seems to pluck the crowns again from the Muses' heads, and restore them to the Sirens.

The Sirens are said to inhabit certain islands, because pleasures generally seek retirement, and often shun society. And for their songs, with the manifold artifice and destructiveness thereof, this is too obvious and common to need explanation. But that particular of the bones stretching like white cliffs along the shores, and appearing afar off, contains a more subtile allegory, and denotes that the examples of others' calamity and misfortunes, though ever so manifest and apprent, a have yet but little force to deter the corrupt nature of man from pleasures.

The allegory of the remedies against the Sirens is not difficult, but very wise and noble: it proposes, in effect, three remedies, as well against subtile as violent mischiefs, two drawn from philosophy and one from religion.

The first means of escaping is to resist the earliest temptation in the beginning, and diligently avoid and cut off all occasions that may solicit or sway the mind ; and this is well represented by shutting up the ears, a kind of remedy to be necessarily used with mean and vulgar minds, such as the retinue of Ulysses.

But nobler spirits may converse, even in the midst of pleasures, if the mind be well guarded with constancy and resolution. And thus some delight to make a severe trial of their own virtue, and thoroughly acquaint themselves with the folly and madness of pleasures, without complying or being wholly given up to them ; which is what Solomon professes of himself when he closes the account of all the

[b] "Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus ;
Rumoresque senum severiorum
Omnes unius estimemus assis."—Catull. Eleg. v.

And again—

"Jura senes norint, et quod sit fasque nefasque
Inquirant tristes ; legumque examina servent."—Metam. ix. 550.

numerous pleasures he gave a loose to, with this expression, "But wisdom still continued with me." Such heroes in virtue may, therefore, remain unmoved by the greatest incentives to pleasure, and stop themselves on the very precipice of danger; if, according to the example of Ulysses, they turn a deaf ear to pernicious counsel, and the flatteries of their friends and companions, which have the greatest power to shake and unsettle the mind.

But the most excellent remedy, in every temptation, is that of Orpheus, who, by loudly chanting and resounding the praises of the gods, confounded the voices, and kept himself from hearing the music of the Sirens; for divine contemplations exceed the pleasures of sense, not only in power but also in sweetness.

NEW ATLANTIS.

A WORK UNFINISHED.

TO THE READER.

This fable my lord devised, to the end that he might exhibit therein a model or description of a college, instituted for the interpreting of nature, and the producing of great and marvellous works for the benefit of man, under the name of Solomon's House, or the College of the Six Days' Works. And even so far his lordship hath proceeded as to finish that part. Certainly the model is more vast and high than can possibly be imitated in all things, notwithstanding most things therein are within men's power to effect. His lordship thought also in this present fable to have composed a frame of laws, or of the best state or mould of a commonwealth; but foreseeing it would be a long work, his desire of collecting the natural history diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it. RAWLEY.

NEW ATLANTIS.

WE sailed from Peru, where we had continued for the space of one whole year, for China and Japan, by the South Sea, taking with us victuals for twelve months, and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months' space and more; but then the wind came about, and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east, which carried us up, for all that we could do, towards the north; by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them. So that, finding ourselves in the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victuals, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, "who showeth his wonders in the deep," beseeching him of his mercy, that as in the beginning he discovered the face of the deep, and brought

forth dry land, so he would now discover land to us, that we might not perish. And it came to pass that the next day about evening we saw, within a kenning before us, towards the north, as it were, thicker clouds, which did put us in some hope of land; knowing how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown, and might have islands or continents that hitherto were not come to light. Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land all that night; and in the dawning of the next day we might plainly discern that it was a land flat to our sight, and full of boscage, which made it show the more dark: and after an hour and a half's sailing we entered into a good haven, being the port of a fair city, not great indeed, but well built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea. And we, thinking every minute long till we were on land, came close to the shore, and offered to land; but straightways we saw divers of the people with batons in their hands, as it were forbidding us to land, yet without any cries or fierceness, but only as warning us off by signs that they made. Whereupon, being not a little discomforted, we were advising with ourselves what we should do. During which time there made forth to us a small boat with about eight persons in it, whereof one of them had in his hand a tipstaff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who made aboard our ship without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew forth a little scroll of parchment, somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing-tables, but otherwise soft and flexible, and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written, in ancient Hebrew, and in ancient Greek, and in good Latin of the school, and in Spanish, these words, "Land ye not, none of you, and provide to be gone from this coast within sixteen days, except you have further time given you: meanwhile, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to mercy." This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubim's wings, not spread, but hanging downwards, and by them a cross. This being delivered, the officer returned, and left only a servant with us to receive our answer. Consulting hereupon amongst ourselves,

we were much perplexed. The denial of landing, and hasty warning us away, troubled us much. On the other side, to find that the people had languages, and were so full of humanity, did comfort us not a little; and, above all, the sign of the cross to that instrument was to us a great rejoicing, and, as it were, a certain presage of good. Our answer was in the Spanish tongue, "That for our ship it was well, for we had rather met with calms and contrary winds than any tempests. For our sick, they were many, and in very ill case, so that if they were not permitted to land, they ran in danger of their lives." Our other wants we set down in particular, adding, "That we had some little store of merchandise, which, if it pleased them to deal for, it might supply our wants without being chargeable unto them." We offered some reward in pistolets unto the servant, and a piece of crimson velvet to be presented to the officer; but the servant took them not, nor would scarce look upon them; and so left us, and went back in another little boat which was sent for him.

About three hours after we had despatched our answer, there came towards us a person, as it seemed, of place. He had on him a gown, with wide sleeves of a kind of watercamlet, of an excellent azure colour, far more glossy than ours; his under-apparel was green, and so was his hat, being in the form of a turban, daintily made, and not so huge as the Turkish turbans; and the locks of his hair came down below the brims of it. A reverend man was he to behold. He came in a boat, gilt in some part of it, with four persons more only in that boat, and was followed by another boat, wherein were some twenty. When he was come within a flight-shot of our ship, signs were made to us that we should send forth some to meet him upon the water: which we presently did in our ship's boat, sending the principal man amongst us, save one, and four of our number with him. When we were come within six yards of their boat, they called to us to stay, and not to approach further, which we did. And thereupon the man whom I before described stood up, and with a loud voice, in Spanish, asked, "Are ye Christians?" We answered, "We were;" fearing the less because of the cross we had seen in the subscription. At which answer the said person lifted up his right hand towards

heaven, and drew it softly to his mouth, which is the gesture they use when they thank God, and then said, "If you will swear, all of you, by the merits of the Saviour, that ye are no pirates, nor have shed blood, lawfully or unlawfully, within forty days past, you may have license to come on land." We said, "We were all ready to take that oath." Whereupon one of those that were with him, being, as it seemed, a notary, made an entry of this act. Which done, another of the attendants of the great person, who was with him in the same boat, after his lord had spoken a little to him, said aloud, "My lord would have you know that it is not of pride or greatness that he cometh not aboard your ship; but for that in your answer you declare that you have many sick amongst you, he was warned by the conservator of health of the city that he should keep at a distance." We bowed ourselves towards him, and answered, "We were his humble servants; and accounted for great honour and singular humanity towards us that which was already done; but hoped well that the nature of the sickness of our men was not infectious." So he returned; and a while after came the notary to us aboard our ship, holding in his hand a fruit of that country, like an orange, but of colour between orange-tawny and scarlet, which casts a most excellent odour: he used it, as it seemeth, for a preservative against infection. He gave us our oath, "By the name of Jesus and his merits;" and after told us, that the next day by six o'clock in the morning we should be sent to, and brought to the Strangers'-House,[a] so he called it, where we should be accommodated of things both for our whole and for our sick. So he left us; and when we offered him some pistolets, he, smiling, said, "He must not be twice paid for one labour;" meaning, as I take it, that he had salary sufficient of the state for his service; for, as I after learned, they call an officer that taketh rewards "twice paid."

The next morning early there came to us the same officer that came to us at first with his cane, and told us, "He came to conduct us to the Strangers'-House, and that he had prevented the hour, because we might have the whole day before us for our business: for," said he, "if you will follow

[a] A lazaretto.

my advice, there shall first go with me some few of you and see the place, and how it may be made convenient for you; and then you may send for your sick, and the rest of your number, which ye will bring on land." We thanked him, and said, "That this care which he took of desolate strangers God would reward." And so six of us went on land with him; and when we were on land he went before us, and turned to us, and said, "He was but our servant and our guide." He led us through three fair streets, and all the way we went there were gathered some people on both sides, standing in a row, but in so civil a fashion, as if it had been not to wonder at us, but to welcome us; and divers of them, as we passed by them, put their arms a little abroad, which is their gesture when they bid any welcome. The Strangers'-House is a fair and spacious house, built of brick, of somewhat a bluer colour than our brick, and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled. He brought us first into a fair parlour above-stairs, and then asked us, "What number of persons we were, and how many sick?" We answered, "We were in all, sick and whole, one-and-fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen." He desired us to have patience a little, and to stay till he came back to us, which was about an hour after; and then he led us to see the chambers which were provided for us, being in number nineteen. They having cast it, as it seemeth, that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our company, and lodge them alone by themselves; and the other fifteen chambers were to lodge us, two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a dortoir, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and windows) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar-wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty many more than we needed, were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber; for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before. This done, he brought us back to the parlour, and lifting up his cane a little, as they do when they give any charge or com-

mand, said to us, "Ye are to know, that the custom of the land requireth that after this day and to-morrow, which we give you for removing your people from your ship, you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing; and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad." We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, "God surely is manifested in this land." We offered him also twenty pistolets; but he smiled, and only said, "What, twice paid?" and so he left us.

Soon after our dinner was served in, which was right good viands, both for bread and meat, better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good; wine of the grape, a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country, a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick, which, they said, were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small grey or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep, which, they said, would hasten their recovery.

The next day, after that our trouble of carriage and removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together, and when they were assembled said unto them, "My dear friends, let us know ourselves, and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly, when we were as buried in the deep. And now we are on land, we are but between death and life; for we are beyond both the Old World and New; and whether ever we shall see Europe God only knoweth: it is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither, and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore, in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. Besides, we are come here amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity; let us not bring that confusion of face

upon ourselves as to show our vices or unworthiness before them. Yet there is more; for they have by commandment, though in form of courtesy, cloistered us within these walls for three days: who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions; and if they find them bad, to banish us straightways; if good, to give us further time? For these men that they have given us for attendance may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves as we may be at peace with God, and may find grace in the eyes of this people." Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired; during which time we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought themselves cast into some divine pool of healing, they mended so kindly and so fast.

The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white, with a small red cross on the top; he had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner, as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us; whereupon six of us only stayed, and the rest avoided the room. He said, "I am by office governor of this House of Strangers, and by vocation I am a Christian priest; and therefore am come to you to offer you my service both as strangers, and chiefly as Christians. Some things I may tell you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The state hath given you license to stay on land for the space of six weeks. And let it not trouble you if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as shall be convenient. Ye shall also understand that the Strangers'-House is at this time rich and much aforehand, for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years; for so long it is since any stranger ar-

rived in this part. And, therefore, take ye no care, the state will defray you all the time you stay, neither shall you stay one day less for that. As for any merchandise you have brought, ye shall be well used, and have your return either in merchandise, or in gold and silver; for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not, for ye shall find we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a karan [that is with them a mile and a half] from the walls of the city without special leave." We answered, after we had looked awhile upon one another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage, "That we could not tell what to say, for we wanted words to express our thanks, and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us that we had before us a picture of our salvation in heaven; for we that were awhile since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations. For the commandment laid upon us, we would not fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground." We added, "That our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths ere we should forget either this reverend person, or this whole nation in our prayers." We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden, laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said, "He was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward, which was our brotherly love, and the good of our souls and bodies." So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes; and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying amongst ourselves, "That we were come into a land of angels which did appear to us daily, and present us with comforts which we thought not of, much less expected."

The next day, about ten o'clock, the governor came to us again, and after salutations said familiarly, "That he was come to visit us," and called for a chair, and sat him down: and being some ten of us (the rest were of the meaner sort, or else gone abroad), sat down with him. And when we were seated, he began thus, "We of this island of Bensalem [for so they call it in their language] have this, that by

means of our solitary situation, and the laws of secrecy which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers, we know well most part of the habitable world, and are ourselves unknown. Therefore, because he that knoweth least is fittest to ask questions, it is more reason, for the entertainment of the time, that ye ask me questions than that I ask you." We answered, "That we humbly thanked him that he would give us leave so to do, and that we conceived, by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land. But above all," we said, "since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of heaven, for that we were both parts Christians, we desired to know, in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas from the land where our Saviour walked on earth, who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith?" It appeared in his face that he took great contentment in this our question. He said, "Ye knit my heart to you by asking this question in the first place, for it showeth that you 'first seek the kingdom of heaven;' and I shall gladly and briefly satisfy your demand:—

"About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour, it came to pass that there was seen by the people of Renfusa, a city upon the eastern coast of our island, within night (the night was cloudy and calm), as it might be some miles in the sea, a great pillar of light, not sharp, but in form of a column or cylinder, rising from the sea, a great way up towards heaven, and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar: upon which so strange a spectacle the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands to wonder, and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer; so as the boats stood all as in a theatre, beholding this light as a heavenly sign. It so fell out that there was in one of the boats of the wise men of the Society of Solomon's House (which house

or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom), who having a while attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face, and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, made his prayers in this manner :—

"'Lord God of heaven and earth, thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace to those of our order to know thy works of creation, and true secrets of them, and to discern (as far as appertaineth to the generations of men) between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts! I do here acknowledge and testify before this people, that the thing we now see before our eyes is thy finger and a true miracle. And forasmuch as we learn in our books that thou never workest miracles but to a divine and excellent end (for the laws of nature are thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon good cause), we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy, which thou dost in some part secretly promise by sending it unto us.'

"When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was in moveable and unbound, whereas all the rest remained still fast; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with silence rowed towards the pillar: but ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light brake up, and cast itself abroad, as it were, into a firmament of many stars; which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark or chest of cedar, dry, and not wet at all with water, though it swam; and in the fore-end of it, which was towards him, grew a small green branch of palm. And when the wise man had taken it with all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there was found in it a book and a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in sindons of linen. The book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them (for we know well what the churches with you receive), and the Apocalypse itself; and some other books of the New Testament which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the book. And for the letter, it was in these words:—

"'I, Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle

of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation, and peace, and goodwill from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus.'

"There were also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conformable to that of the apostles in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time in this land Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, besides the natives, every one read upon the book and letter as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity, as the remain of the old world was from water, by an ark, through the apostolical and miraculous evangelism of St. Bartholomew." And here he paused, and a messenger came and called him forth from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day the same governor came again to us immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying, "That the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend some time with us, if we held his company and conference agreeable." We answered, "That we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we forgot both dangers past and fears to come, for the time we heard him speak, and that we thought an hour spent with him was worth years of our former life." He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again he said, "Well, the questions are on your part." One of our number said, after a little pause, "There was a matter we were no less desirous to know than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far; but encouraged by his rare humanity towards us, that we could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants, we would take the hardiness to propound it; humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that he would pardon it, though he rejected it." We said, "We well observed those his words which he formerly spake, that this happy island where we now stood was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world; which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our state and business; and yet we in Europe, notwith-

standing all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age, never heard any of the least inkling or glimpse of this island. This we found wonderful strange, for that all nations have interknowledge one of another, either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them: and though the traveller into a foreign country doth commonly know more by the eye than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller, yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge in some degree on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe, no, nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world that had made return from them. And yet the marvel rested not in this, for the situation of it, as his lordship said, in the secret conclave of such a vast sea, might cause it: but then, that they should have knowledge of the languages, books, affairs of those that lie such a distance from them, it was a thing we could not tell what to make of; for that it seemed to us a condition and property of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open and as in a light to them." At this speech the governor gave a gracious smile, and said, "That we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked, for that it imported as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts to bring them news and intelligence of other countries." It was answered by us all in all possible humbleness, but yet with a countenance taking knowledge that we knew that he spake it but merrily, "That we were apt enough to think there was somewhat supernatural in this island, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly what it was that made us tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered he had given a touch in his former speech, that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers." To this he said, "You remember it right: and therefore in that I shall say to you, I must reserve some particulars, which it is not lawful for me to reveal; but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

"You shall understand, that which perhaps you will scarce think credible, that about three thousand years ago, or some-

what more, the navigation of the world, especially for remote voyages, was greater than at this day.[b] Do not think with yourselves that I know not how much it is increased with you within these sixscore years; I know it well: and yet I say, greater then than now. Whether it was that the example of the ark that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to adventure upon the waters, or what it was, but such is the truth. The Phœnicians, and especially the Tyrians, had great fleets; so had the Carthaginians their colony, which is yet further west. Toward the east the shipping of Egypt and of Palestina was likewise great; China also, and the great Atlantis, that you call America, which have now but junks and canoes, abounded then in tall ships. This island, as appeareth by faithful registers of those times, had then fifteen hundred strong ships of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none; but we have large knowledge thereof.

"At that time, this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named, and, as it cometh to pass, they had many times men of other countries that were no sailors that came with them; as Persians, Chaldeans, Arabians; so as almost all nations of might and fame resorted hither, of whom we have some stirps and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits, which you call the Pillars of Hercules, as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas; as to Pegu, which is the same with Cambalu, and Quinsay upon the Oriental seas, as far as to the borders of East Tartary.

"At the same time, and an age after or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though the narration and description which is made by a great man,[c] with

[b] It is of course necessary to understand the Atlantic oracle *cum grano;* though certainly the expeditions of Hanno, of Pharaoh Necho, of Nearchus, and others (rather less, indeed, than three thousand years ago), might give some colour to his ideas. His lordship had probably formed grander notions of the fleets and navigations of the Tyrians, Carthaginians, and other commercial nations of antiquity than the present age entertain. See on this subject *Heeren's Africa* (Bohn).

[c] Plato, in whose Critias all these marvellous descriptions occur. It is not a little extraordinary that persons roaming through literature in search of pleasure, should so seldom enter upon the domains of this

you, of the descendants of Neptune planted there, and of the magnificent temple, palace, city, and hill, and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers, which, as so many chains, environed the same site and temple, and the several degrees of ascent, whereby men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a *scala cœli*, be all poetical and fabulous; yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well as that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms in arms, shipping, and riches; so mighty, as at one time, or at least within the space of ten years, they both made two great expeditions; they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea, and they of Coya, through the South Sea, upon this our island. And for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author amongst you, as it seemeth, had some relation from the Egyptian priest whom he citeth, for assuredly such a thing there was. But whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and resistance of those forces, I can say nothing; but certain it is, there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had the other voyage of those of Coya upon us had better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For the king of this island, by name Altabin, a wise man and a great warrior, knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies, handled the matter so, as he cut off their land-forces from their ships, and entoiled both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land, and compelled them to render themselves without striking stroke; and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety. But the Divine revenge overtook not long after those proud enterprises; for within less than the space of one hundred years, the great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed, not by a great earthquake, as your man saith,[d] for that

Archimago, where so many magical sights and shows abound. Spenser is not more fanciful, Shakspeare not more imaginative, Milton not more sublime.—*J. A. St. John.*

[d] The western coast of America is liable still more than the western coast of Europe to the shock of earthquakes. Indeed, it might almost be said that the earthquake has its home among the Andes, where it

whole tract is little subject to earthquakes, but by a particular deluge or inundation, those countries having at this day far greater rivers, and far higher mountains to pour down waters, than any part of the old world. But it is true, that the same inundation was not deep; not past forty foot in most places from the ground: so that although it destroyed man and beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water, yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance, whereby they of the vale that were not drowned, perished for want of food, and other things necessary. So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people; for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people, younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation. For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains, peopled the country again slowly by little and little; and being simple and a savage people, not like Noah and his sons, which was the chief family of the earth, they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity. And having likewise, in their mountainous habitations, been used, in respect of the extreme cold of those regions, to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers,[e] bears, and great hairy goats that they have in those parts; when, after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day: only they take great pride and delight in the feathers of birds; and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it by the

has, within the memory of men now living, wrought fearful havoc, and effected wonderful changes in the aspect of the globe. For an account of some of these, the reader may be referred to Humboldt's description of the country round Chimborazo, whose unscaleable peak a bold party of travellers some years ago attempted to ascend. See his *Personal Narrative* (Bohn's Ed.).

[e] The tiger is not a native of the American continent; but this had not been ascertained in Bacon's time.

infinite flight of birds that came up to the high grounds while the waters stood below. So you see by this main accident of time we lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom, of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce. As for the other parts of the world, it is most manifest that in the ages following, whether it were in respect of wars, or by a natural revolution of time, navigation did everywhere greatly decay, and especially far voyages, the rather by the use of galleys and such vessels as could hardly brook the ocean, were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of the intercourse which could be from other nations to sail to us, you see how it hath long since ceased, except it were by some rare accident, as this of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which might be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause; for I cannot say, if I shall say truly, but our shipping for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever; and therefore why we should sit at home I shall now give you an account by itself, and it will draw nearer to give you satisfaction to your principal question.

"There reigned in this island, about one thousand nine hundred years ago, a king, whose memory of all others we most adore, not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man: his name was Solomona, and we esteem him as the lawgiver of our nation. This king had a large heart, inscrutable for good, and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He therefore, taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was to maintain itself without any aid at all of the foreigner, being five thousand six hundred miles in circuit, and of rare fertility of soil in the greatest part thereof; and finding also the shipping of this country might be plentifully set on work, both by fishing and by transportations from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not far from us, and are under the crown and laws of this state, and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing estate wherein this land then was, so as it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better; thought nothing wanted to his noble and heroical intentions, but only, as far as human foresight might reach,

to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established; therefore amongst his other fundamental laws of this kingdom he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching the entrance of strangers, which at that time, though it was after the calamity of America, was frequent; doubting novelties and commixture of manners. It is true, the like law against the admission of strangers without license is an ancient law in the kingdom of China, and yet continued in use; but there it is a poor thing, and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For, first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed, whereof you have tasted." At which speech, as reason was, we all rose up and bowed ourselves. He went on. "That king also—still desiring to join humanity and policy together, and thinking it against humanity to detain strangers here against their wills, and against policy, that they should return and discover their knowledge of this state, he took this course. He did ordain, that of the strangers that should be permitted to land, as many, at all times, might depart as would, but as many as would stay should have very good conditions and means to live from the state. Wherein he saw so far, that now in so many ages since the prohibition, we have memory not of one ship that ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only at several times that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad, I know not; but you must think, whatsoever they have said could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China, for the Chinese sail where they will, or can; which showeth that their law of keeping out strangers is a law of pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath one only exception, which is admirable, preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt; and I will now open it to you. And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will, by-and-by, find it pertinent. You shall understand, my dear friends, that amongst the excellent acts of that king, one above all hath the pre-eminence; it was the erection and institution of an

order or society, which we call Solomon's House, the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Solomona's House; but the records write it as it is spoken. So as I take it to be denominate of the king of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and no stranger to us, for we have some parts of his works which with you are lost; namely, that natural history which he wrote of all plants, 'from the cedar of Lebanon to the moss that groweth out of the wall,' and of all things that have life and motion. This maketh me think that our king, finding himself to symbolize in many things with that king of the Hebrews which lived many years before him, honoured him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records this order or society is sometimes called Solomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days' Works; whereby I am satisfied that our excellent king had learned from the Hebrews that God had created the world, and all that therein is, within six days, and therefore he instituting that house for the finding out of the true nature of all things, whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in their use of them, did give it also that second name. But now, to come to our present purpose. When the king had forbidden to all his people navigation in any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance, that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom two ships appointed to several voyages; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Solomon's House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed, and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind: that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return, and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission. The ships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure, to remain with the

brethren for the buying of such things and rewarding of such persons as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you, how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land, and how they that must be put on shore for any time, colour themselves under the names of other nations, and to what places these voyages have been designed, and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practice, I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter, but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world."

And when he had said this he was silent, and so were we all; for indeed we were all astonished to hear so strange things so probably told. And he, perceiving that we were willing to say somewhat, but had it not ready, in great courtesy took us off, and descended to ask us questions of our voyage and fortunes; and in the end concluded, that we might do well to think with ourselves what time of stay we would demand of the state; and bade us not to scant ourselves, for he would procure such time as we desired. Whereupon we all rose up, and presented ourselves to kiss the skirt of his tippet; but he would not suffer us, and so took his leave. But when it came once amongst our people, that the state used to offer conditions to strangers that would stay, we had work enough to get any of our men to look to our ship, and to keep them from going presently to the governor to crave conditions; but with much ado we refrained them, till we might agree what course to take.

We took ourselves now for free men, seeing there was no danger of our utter perdition, and lived most joyfully, going abroad, and seeing what was to be seen in the city and places adjacent within our tedder, and obtaining acquaintance with many of the city, not of the meanest quality, at whose hands we found such humanity, and such a freedom and desire to take strangers as it were into their bosom, as was enough to make us forget all that was dear to us in our own countries; and continually we met with many things right worthy of observation and relation; as indeed, if there be a mirror in the world worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that

country. One day there were two of our company bidden to a feast of the family, as they call it; a most natural, pious, and reverend custom it is, showing that nation to be compounded of all goodness. This is the manner of it: it is granted to any man that shall live to see thirty persons descended of his body alive together, and all above three years old, to make this feast, which is done at the cost of the state. The father of the family, whom they call the tirsan, two days before the feast, taketh to him three of such friends as he liketh to choose, and is assisted also by the governor of the city or place where the feast is celebrated; and all the persons of the family of both sexes are summoned to attend him. These two days the tirsan sitteth in consultation concerning the good estate of the family. There, if there be any discord or suits between any of the family, they are compounded and appeased; there, if any of the family be distressed or decayed, order is taken for their relief, and competent means to live; there, if any be subject to vice or take ill courses, they are reproved and censured. So likewise, direction is given touching marriages, and the courses of life which any of them should take, with divers other the like orders and advices. The governor assisteth to the end, to put in execution by his public authority the decrees and orders of the tirsan, if they should be disobeyed, though that seldom needeth, such reverence and obedience they give to the order of nature. The tirsan doth also then ever choose one man from amongst his sons to live in house with him, who is called ever after the son of the vine: the reason will hereafter appear. On the feast-day, the father or tirsan cometh forth, after divine service, into a large room where the feast is celebrated, which room hath an half-pace at the upper end. Against the wall, in the middle of the half-pace, is a chair placed for him, with a table and carpet before it: over the chair is a state made round or oval, and it is of ivy; an ivy somewhat whiter than ours, like the leaf of a silver asp, but more shining, for it is green all winter. And the state is curiously wrought with silver and silk of divers colours, broiding or binding in the ivy, and is ever of the work of some of the daughters of the family, and veiled over at the top with a fine net of silk and silver: but the substance of it is true ivy, whereof, after it is taken down, the

friends of the family are desirous to have some leaf or sprig to keep. The tirsan cometh forth with all his generation or lineage, the males before him, and the females following him. And if there be a mother from whose body the whole lineage is descended, there is a traverse placed in a loft above on the right hand of the chair, with a private door, and a carved window of glass, leaded with gold and blue, where she sitteth, but is not seen.[f] When the tirsan is come forth, he sitteth down in the chair, and all the lineage place themselves against the wall, both at his back, and upon the return of the half-pace, in order of their years, without difference of sex, and stand upon their feet. When he is set, the room being always full of company, but well kept, and without disorder, after some pause there cometh in from the lower end of the room a taratan, which is as much as an herald, and on either side of him two young lads, whereof one carrieth a scroll of their shining yellow parchment, and the other a cluster of grapes of gold, with a long foot or stalk; the herald and children are clothed with mantles of sea-water green satin, but the herald's mantle is streamed with gold, and hath a train. Then the herald, with three courtesies, or rather inclinations, cometh up as far as the half-pace, and there first taketh into his hand the scroll. This scroll is the king's charter, containing gift of revenue, and many privileges, exemptions, and points of honour granted to the father of the family; and it is ever styled and directed, to such an one, our well-beloved friend and creditor, which is a title proper only to this case; for they say, the king is debtor to no man, but for propagation of his subjects. The seal set to the king's charter is the king's image, embossed or moulded in gold. And though such charters be expedited of course, and as of right, yet they are varied by discretion, according to the number and dignity of the family. This charter the herald readeth aloud; and while it is read, the father or tirsan standeth up, supported by two of his sons, such as he chooseth. Then the herald

[f] What the object of this seclusion of the mother of the family could be, I am unable to conjecture, since the young women freely circulated among their brethren. Perhaps it may have been designed to conceal the ravages of years, to give rise, in the minds of the spectators, to an idea of beauty, which age may have destroyed.

mounteth the half-pace, and delivereth the charter into his hand, and with that there is an acclamation by all that are present, in their language, which is thus much, "Happy are the people of Bensalem." Then the herald taketh into his hand from the other child the cluster of grapes, which is of gold, both the stalk and the grapes, but the grapes are daintily enamelled; and if the males of the family be the greater number, the grapes are enamelled purple, with a little sun set on the top; if the females, then they are enamelled into a greenish yellow, with a crescent on the top. The grapes are in number as many as there are descendants of the family. This golden cluster the herald delivereth also to the tirsan, who presently delivereth it over to that son that he had formerly chosen to be in house with him, who beareth it before his father, as an ensign of honour when he goeth in public ever after, and is thereupon called the son of the vine. After this ceremony ended, the father or tirsan retireth, and after some time cometh forth again to dinner, where he sitteth alone under the state as before; and none of his descendants sit with him, of what degree or dignity soever, except he hap to be of Solomon's House. He is served only by his own children, such as are male, who perform unto him all service of the table upon the knee, and the women only stand about him, leaning against the wall. The room below his half-pace hath tables on the sides for the guests that are bidden, who are served with great and comely order; and toward the end of dinner, which in the greatest feasts with them lasteth never above an hour and a half, there is a hymn sung, varied according to the invention of him that composed it, for they have excellent poetry, but the subject of it is always the praises of Adam, and Noah, and Abraham whereof the former two peopled the world, and the last was the father of the faithful: concluding ever with a thanksgiving for the nativity of our Saviour, in whose birth the births of all are only blessed. Dinner being done, the tirsan retireth again, and having withdrawn himself alone into a place where he maketh some private prayers, he cometh forth the third time to give the blessing, with all his descendants, who stand about him as at the first. Then he calleth them forth one by one, by name, as he pleaseth, though seldom the order of age be inverted. The person

that is called, the table being before removed, kneeleth down before the chair, and the father layeth his hand upon his head, or her head, and giveth the blessing in these words: "Son of Bensalem, or daughter of Bensalem, thy father saith it, the man by whom thou hast breath and life speaketh the word; the blessing of the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, and the Holy Dove be upon thee, and make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many." This he saith to every of them: and that done, if there be any of his sons of eminent merit and virtue, so they be not above two, he calleth for them again, and sayeth, laying his arm over their shoulders, they standing, "Sons, it is well you are born; give God the praise, and persevere to the end:" and withal delivereth to either of them a jewel, made in the figure of an ear of wheat, which they ever after wear in the front of their turban or hat. This done, they fall to music and dances, and other recreations after their manner, for the rest of the day. This is the full order of that feast.

By that time six or seven days were spent, I was fallen into strait acquaintance with a merchant of that city, whose name was Joabin: he was a Jew, and circumcised, for they have some few stirps of Jews yet remaining among them, whom they leave to their own religion, which they may the better do, because they are of a far different disposition from the Jews in other parts. For whereas they hate the name of Christ, and have a secret inbred rancour against the people among whom they live; these contrariwise give unto our Saviour many high attributes, and love the nation of Bensalem extremely. Surely this man of whom I speak, would ever acknowledge that Christ was born of a virgin, and that he was more than a man; and he would tell how God made him ruler of the seraphims which guard his throne: and they call him also the Milken Way, and the Eliah of the Messiah, and many other high names; which, though they be inferior to his Divine Majesty, yet they are far from the language of other Jews. And for the country of Bensalem, this man would make no end of commending it, being desirous, by tradition among the Jews there, to have it believed, that the people thereof were of the generations of Abraham by another son, whom they call Nachoran; and that Moses by a secret cabala ordained the laws of Bensalem, which they

now use; and that when the Messiah should come and sit in his throne at Jerusalem, the king of Bensalem should sit at his feet, whereas other kings should keep at a great distance. But yet, setting aside these Jewish dreams, the man was a wise man and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation. Amongst other discourses, one day I told him, I was much affected with the relation I had from some of the company, of their custom in holding the feast of the family, for that methought I had never heard of a solemnity wherein nature did so much preside. And because propagation of families proceedeth from the nuptial copulation, I desired to know of him what laws and customs they had concerning marriage, and whether they kept marriage well, and whether they were tied to one wife. For that where population is so much affected, and such as with them it seemed to be, there is commonly permission of plurality of wives. To this he said, "You have reason to commend that excellent institution of the feast of the family; and indeed we have experience that those families that are partakers of the blessings of that feast do flourish and prosper ever after in an extraordinary manner. But hear me now, and I will tell you what I know. You shall understand that there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem, nor so free from all pollution or foulness; it is the virgin of the world. I remember I have read in one of your European books, of an holy hermit amongst you that desired to see the spirit of fornication, and there appeared to him a little foul ugly Ethiop. But if he had desired to see the spirit of chastity of Bensalem, it would have appeared to him in the likeness of a fair beautiful cherubim; for there is nothing amongst mortal men more fair and admirable than the chaste minds of this people. Know, therefore, that with them there are no stews, no dissolute houses, no courtezans, nor anything of that kind; nay, they wonder with detestation at you in Europe which permit such things. They say you have put marriage out of office; for marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence, and natural concupiscence seemeth as a spur to marriage:[g] but when men have at hand a

[g] On this subject consult Milton's "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," particularly chapters iv. v. and xxi.

remedy more agreeable to their corrupt will, marriage is almost expulsed. And therefore there are with you seen infinite men that marry not, but choose rather a libertine and impure single life than to be yoked in marriage; and many that do marry, marry late, when the prime and strength of their years is past; and when they do marry, what is marriage to them but a very bargain, wherein is sought alliance, or portion, or reputation, with some desire almost indifferent of issue, and not the faithful nuptial union of man and wife that was first instituted. Neither is it possible that those that have cast away so basely so much of their strength, should greatly esteem children, being of the same matter, as chaste men do. So neither during marriage is the case much amended, as it ought to be if those things were tolerated only for necessity. No, but they remain still as a very affront to marriage; the haunting of those dissolute places, or resort to courtezans, is no more punished in married men than in bachelors: and the depraved custom of change, and the delight in meretricious embracements, where sin is turned into art, maketh marriage a dull thing, and a kind of imposition or tax. They hear you defend these things as done to avoid greater evils, as advoutries, deflowering of virgins, unnatural lust, and the like: but they say this is a preposterous wisdom, and they call it Lot's offer, who, to save his guests from abusing, offered his daughters. Nay, they say further, that there is little gained in this, for that the same vices and appetites do still remain and abound, unlawful lust being like a furnace, that if you stop the flames altogether, it will quench, but if you give it any vent, it will rage. As for masculine love, they have no touch of it; and yet there are not so faithful and inviolate friendships in the world again as are there: and to speak generally, as I said before, I have not read of any such chastity in any people as theirs. And their usual saying is, that whosoever is unchaste cannot reverence himself. And they say, that the reverence of a man's self is, next religion, the chiefest bridle of all vices." And when he had said this, the good Jew paused a little. Whereupon I, far more willing to hear him speak on than to speak myself, yet thinking it decent that upon his pause of speech I should not be altogether silent, said only this, "That I would say to him as the widow of Sarepta said

to Elias, that he was come to bring to memory our sins; and that I confess the righteousness of Bensalem was greater than the righteousness of Europe." At which speech he bowed his head, and went on in this manner: "They have also many wise and excellent laws touching marriage. They allow no polygamy. They have ordained that none do intermarry or contract until a month be past from their first interview. Marriage without consent of parents they do not make void, but they mulct it in the inheritors; for the children of such marriages are not admitted to inherit above a third part of their parents' inheritance.[h] I have read in a book of one of your men of a feigned commonwealth,[i] where the married couple are permitted, before they contract, to see one another naked. This they dislike, for they think it a scorn to give a refusal after so familiar knowledge: but because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies, they have a more civil way; for they have near every town a couple of pools, which they call Adam and Eve's pools, where it it permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked."

And as we were thus in conference, there came one that seemed to be a messenger, in a rich huke, that spake with the Jew; whereupon, he turned to me, and said, "You will pardon me, for I am commanded away in haste."

The next morning he came to me again, joyful, as it seemed, and said, "There is word come to the governor of the city, that one of the fathers of Solomon's House will be here this day seven-night; we have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state, but the cause of his coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a

[h] An act of injustice, which, while aimed at the parents, strikes only the children. It is not a little surprising that, in proposing a reformation of laws, Bacon should advocate a palpable wrong.

[i] This "feigned commonwealth" is an allusion to More's "Utopia," in which the regulation here condemned is found. His lordship has by no means improved upon Sir Thomas; but, on the contrary, for a bad practice he has substituted a worse. Very little of the unhappiness of marriage ever springs from defects of the person. It is character that men should be anxious to behold naked. It is in that the deformity is likely to lie that shall render their days cheerless and life a burden. Familiarity, which dissipates the illusion of a beautiful face, when the face alone is beautiful, actually confers beauty on a plain one, if the mind within be lovely.

good standing to see his entry." I thanked him, and tol him, "I was most glad of the news."

The day being come, he made his entry. He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth, with wide sleeves and a cape: his under-garment was of excellent white linen down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same, and a sindon or tippet of the same about his neck: he had gloves that were curious, and set with stone, and shoes of peach-coloured velvet; his neck was bare to the shoulders: his hat was like a helmet or Spanish montera, and his locks curled below it decently,—they were of colour brown: his beard was cut round, and of the same colour with his hair, somewhat lighter.[k] He was carried in a rich chariot, without wheels, litter-wise, with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet, embroidered, and two footmen on either side in the like attire. The chariot was all of cedar, gilt, and adorned with crystal, save that the fore-end had panels of sapphires set in borders of gold, and the hinder end the like of emeralds of the Peru colour. There was also a sun of gold, radiant upon the top, in the midst; and on the top before a small cherub of gold, with wings displayed. The chariot was covered with cloth of gold, tissued upon blue. He had before him fifty attendants, young men all, in white satin loose coats up to the mid-leg, and stockings of white silk, and shoes of blue velvet, and hats of blue velvet, with fine plumes of divers colours set round like hatbands. Next before the chariot went two men bareheaded, in linen garments down to the foot, girt, and shoes of blue velvet, who carried the one a crosier, the other a pastoral staff, like a sheep-hook: neither of them of metal, but the crosier of balm-wood, the pastoral staff of cedar. Horsemen he had none, neither before nor behind his chariot, as it seemeth, to avoid all tumult and trouble. Behind his chariot went all the officers and principals of the companies of the city. He sat alone upon cushions of a kind of excellent plush, blue, and under his foot curious carpets of silk of divers colours, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence. The street was

[k] And yet, as Lord Bacon must have been aware, the beard is usually darker than the hair.

wonderfully well kept; so that there was never any army had their men stand in better battle-array than the people stood. The windows likewise were not crowded, but every one stood in them as if they had been placed. When the show was past, the Jew said to me, "I shall not be able to attend you as I would, in regard of some charge the city hath laid upon me, for the entertaining of this great person."

Three days after, the Jew came to me again, and said, "Ye are happy men! for the father of Solomon's House taketh knowledge of your being here, and commanded me to tell you, that he will admit all your company to his presence, and have private conference with one of you that ye shall choose; and for this hath appointed the next day after to-morrow. And, because he meaneth to give you his blessing, he hath appointed it in the forenoon."

We came at our day and hour, and I was chosen by my fellows for the private access. We found him in a fair chamber, richly hung, and carpeted under-foot, without any degrees to the state.[1] He was seated upon a low throne, richly adorned, and a rich cloth of state over his head, of blue satin, embroiderd. He was alone, save that he had two pages of honour, on either hand, one finely attired in white. His under-garments were the like that we saw him wear in the chariot; but instead of his gown, he had on him a mantle, with a cape of the same fine black, fastened about him. When we came in, as we were taught, we bowed low at our first entrance; and when we were come near his chair, he stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved, and in posture of blessing; and we every one of us stooped down and kissed the hem of his tippet. That done, the rest departed, and I remained. Then he warned the pages forth of the room, and caused me to sit down beside him, and spake to me thus in the Spanish tongue:—

"God bless thee, my son, I will give thee the greatest jewel I have; for I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Solomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Solomon's House, I

[1] That is, without any steps.

will keep this order :—first, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation; secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works; thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned; and fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

"The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things,[m] and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

"The preparations and instruments are these. We have large and deep caves of several depths: the deepest are sunk six hundred fathoms, and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill and the depth of the cave, they are (some of them) above three miles deep: for we find that the depth of a hill and the depth of a cave from the flat is the same thing, both remote alike from the sun and heaven'e beams and from the open air. These caves we call 'ths lower region,' and we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines, and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases,[n] and for prolongation of life in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and, indeed, live very long; by whom also we learn many things.

"We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their porcelain; but we have

[m] Solomon's House, therefore, was simply a college, instituted for the study of natural philosophy. Lord Bacon evidently experienced the influence of his own favourite pursuit, in erecting the platform of his imaginary state.

[n] It was with a view to expose the extravagance of such underground sweating apartments, that the description of Mr. Bailey's Sicilian cavern was introduced into "Margaret Ravenscroft." Lord Bacon himself suspected that the notion would "seem strange;" but nevertheless overcame his repugnance to the strangeness, for the purpose of exhibiting a company of underground hermits, burying themselves alive in search of longevity.

them in greater variety, and some of them finer. We also have great variety of composts and soils for making of the earth fruitful.

"We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height, and some of them likewise set upon high mountains; so that the advantage of the hill with the tower is, in the highest of them, three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region, accounting the air between the high places and the low as a middle region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for insolation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors; as winds, rain, snow, hail, and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them, in some places, are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes, and instruct what to observe.

"We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies; for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools of which some do strain fresh water out of salt, and others by art do turn fresh water into salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays upon the shore for some works wherein are required the air and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions; and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds, to set also agoing divers motions.

"We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths; as tincted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals. And again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And amongst them we have a water which we call 'water of paradise,' being by that we do to it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.[o]

"We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors, as snow, hail, rain, some

[o] Philosophy acknowledges but one elixir of life, which being within everyone's reach is seldom used—*temperance*, in the sense in which the Latins used the term.

artificial rains of bodies, and not of water, thunders, lightnings; also generations of bodies in air, as frogs, flies, and divers others.

"We have also certain chambers, which we call 'chambers of health,' where we qualify the air, as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases, and preservation of health.

"We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man's body from arefaction; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

"We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs; and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, besides the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting and inoculating, as well of wild trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make, by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do; we make them also, by art, much greater than their nature, and their fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure from their nature; and many of them we so order that they become of medicinal use.

"We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds; and likewise to make divers new plants differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.[p]

[p] I have nowhere seen so remarkable a proof of what may be effected in this way as in the gardens of Boghos Bey, at Alexandria. "Here I was shown a very extraordinary fruit-tree, produced by a process highly ingenious. They take three seeds—the citron, the lemon, and the orange—and carefully removing the external cuticle from both sides of one of them, and from one side of the two others, place the former between the latter, and, binding the three together with fine grass, plant them in the earth. From this mixed seed springs a tree, the fruit of which exhibits three distinct species included within one rind, the division being perfectly visible externally, and the flavour of each compartment as different as if it had grown on a separate tree. This method of producing a tripartite fruit has been introduced by Boghos Bey from

"We have also parks and inclosures of all sorts of beasts and birds; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man; wherein we find many strange effects: as, continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also poisons and other medicines upon them, as well of surgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or taller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth; we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures and copulations of divers kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is. We make a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes, of putrefaction; whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds, and have sexes, and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture, what kind of those creatures will arise.

"We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts and birds.

"We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use, such as are with you, your silkworms and bees.

"I will not hold you long with recounting of our brew-houses, bakehouses, and kitchens, where are made divers drinks, breads, and meats, rare and of special effects. Wines we have of grapes, and drinks of other juice, of fruits, of grains, and of roots; and of mixtures with honey, sugar, manna, and fruits dried and decocted; also of the tears, or woundings of trees, and of the pulp of canes. And these drinks are of several ages, some to the age or last of forty years. We have drinks also brewed with several herbs and roots and spices, yea, with several fleshes and white-meats; whereof some of the drinks are such, as they are in effect meat and drink both, so that divers, especially in age, do de-

Smyrna, his native city, where it is said to have been practised from time immemorial."—*Egypt and Mohammed Ali*, ii. 363. f

sive to live with them; with little or no meat or bread. And above all we strive to have drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body, and yet without all biting, sharpness, or fretting; insomuch as some of them put upon the back of your hand will, with a little stay, pass through to the palm, and yet taste mild to the mouth. We have also waters which we ripen in that fashion as they become nourishing, so that they are indeed excellent drink; and many will use no other. Breads we have of several grains, roots, and kernels; yea, and some of flesh and fish dried, with divers kinds of leavenings and seasonings; so that some do extremely move appetites; some do nourish so, as divers do live on them, without any other meat, who live very long. So for meats, we have some of them so beaten and made tender and mortified, yet without all corrupting, as a weak heat of the stomach will turn them into good chylus, as well as a strong heat would meat otherwise prepared. We have some meats also, and breads and drinks, which taken by men enable them to fast long after; and some other that used make the very flesh of men's bodies sensibly more hard and tough, and their strength far greater than otherwise it would be.

"We have dispensatories, or shops of medicines, wherein you may easily think, if we have such variety of plants and living creatures more than you have in Europe (for we know what you have), the simples, drugs, and ingredients of medicines must likewise be in so much the greater variety. We have them likewise of divers ages, and long fermentations. And for their preparations, we have not only all manner of exquisite distillations and separations, and especially by gentle heats, and percolations through divers strainers, yea and substances; but also exact forms of composition, whereby they incorporate almost as they were natural simples.

"We have also divers mechanical arts which you have not, and stuffs made by them; as papers, linen, silks, tissues, dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre, excellent dyes, and many others; and shops likewise as well for such as are not brought into vulgar use amongst us, as for those that are. For you must know, that of the things before recited many are grown into use throughout the kingdom; but yet, if they did flow from our invention, we have of them also for patterns and principles.

"We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats, fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild, blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But, above all, we have heats in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies' heats, that pass divers inequalities, and, as it were, orbs, progresses, and returns, whereby we may produce admirable effects. Besides, we have heats of dungs, and of bellies and maws of living creatures, and of their bloods and bodies; and of hays and herbs laid up moist; of lime unquenched, and such like. Instruments, also, which generate heat only by motion; and further, places for strong insolations; and, again, places under the earth which by nature or art yield heat. These divers heats we use as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.

"We have also perspective-houses, where we make demonstration of all lights and radiations, and of all colours; and of things uncoloured and transparent, we can represent unto you all several colours, not in rainbows, as it is in gems and prisms, but of themselves single. We represent, also, all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance, and make so sharp as to discern small points and lines; also all colorations of light, all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colours; all demonstrations of shadows. We find, also, divers means yet unknown to you of procuring of light originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing objects afar off, as in the heavens, and remote places; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near, making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight far above spectacles and glasses in use. We have also glasses and means to see small and minute bodies perfectly and distinctly, as the shapes and colours of small flies and worms, grains and flaws in gems, which cannot otherwise be seen; observations in urine and blood, not otherwise to be seen. We make artificial rainbows, halos, and circles about light. We represent also all manner of reflections, refractions, and multiplication of visual beams of objects.

"We have also precious stones of all kinds, many of them of great beauty, and to you unknown; crystals likewise, and glasses of divers kinds, and amongst them some of metals vitrificated, and other materials, besides those of which you

make glass. Also a number of fossils and imperfect minerals which you have not; likewise loadstones of prodigious virtue, and other rare stones both natural and artificial.

"We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds and their generation. We have harmonies, which you have not, of quarter-sounds, and lesser slides of sounds; divers instruments likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep, likewise great sounds extenuate and sharp. We make divers tremblings and warbling of sounds, which in their original are entire; we represent and imitate all articulate sounds and letters, and the voices and notes of beasts and birds. We have certain helps, which set to the ear do further the hearing greatly. We have also divers strange and artificial echos reflecting the voice many times, and as it were tossing it; and some that give back the voice louder than it came, some shriller, and some deeper; yea, some rendering the voice differing in the letters or articulate sound from that they receive. We have also means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes in strange lines and distances.

"We have also perfume-houses, wherewith we join also practises of taste: we multiply smells, which may seem strange; we imitate smells, making all smells to breathe out of other mixtures than those that give them. We make divers imitations of taste likewise, so that they will deceive any man's taste. And in this house we contain also a confiture-house, where we make all sweetmeats dry and moist, and divers pleasant wines, milks, broths, and salads, in far greater variety than you have.

"We also have engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets, or any engine that you have; and to make them and multiply them more easily, and with small force, by wheels and other means; and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war, and engines of all kinds; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wildfires burning in water, and unquenchable; also fireworks of all

variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds: we have some degrees of flying in the air: we have ships and boats for going under water, and brooking of seas; also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks, and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents: we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for quality, fineness, and subtilty.

"We have also a mathematical house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

"We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures, and illusions and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we that have so many things truly natural, which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses, if we would disguise those things, and labour to make them more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

"These are, my son, the riches of Solomon's House.

"For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call 'merchants of light.'

"We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call 'depredators.'

"We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call 'mystery men.'

"We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call 'pioneers' or 'miners.'

"We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the

drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call 'compilers.'

"We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call 'dowry men,' or 'benefactors.'

"Then, after divers meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call 'lamps.'

"We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call 'inoculators.'

"Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call 'interpreters of nature.'

"We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also; we have consultations which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not; and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think meet to keep secret, though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the state, and some not.

"For our ordinances and rites, we have two very long and fair galleries. In one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies; also the inventor of ships; your monk that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder; the inventor of music; the inventor of letters; the inventor of printing; the inventor of observations of astronomy; the inventor of works in metal; the inventor of glass; the inventor of silk of the worm; the inventor of wine; the inventor of corn and bread; the inventor of

sugars: and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own, of excellent works, which, since you have not seen, it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides, in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value, we erect a statue to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statues are some of brass; some of marble and touchstone; some of cedar, and other special woods gilt and adorned; some of iron; some of silver; some of gold.

"We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily of laud and thanks to God for his marvellous works; and forms of prayers imploring his aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours, and the turning them into good and holy uses.

"Lastly, we have circuits or visits of divers principal cities of the kingdom, where, as it cometh to pass, we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempests, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel thereupon what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them."

And when he had said this, he stood up; and I, as I had been taught, kneeled down, and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said, "God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made; I give thee leave to publish it for the good of other nations, for we here are in God's bosom, a land unknown." And so he left me, having assigned a value of about two thousand ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows; for they give great largesses where they come upon all occasions.

(*The rest was not perfected.*)

THE HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

To the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Prince Charles,
Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c.

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—In part of my acknowledgment to your Highness, I have endeavoured to do honour to the memory of the last king of England, that was ancestor to the king your father and yourself; and was that king to whom both unions may in a sort refer: that of the roses being in him consummate, and that of the kingdoms by him begun: besides, his times deserve it. For he was a wise man, and an excellent king; and yet the times were rough and full of mutations and rare accidents. And it is with times as it is with ways: some are more uphill and downhill, and some are more flat and plain; and the one is better for the liver, and the other for the writer. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light. It is true your Highness hath a living pattern, incomparable, of the king your father; but it is not amiss for you also to see one of these ancient pieces. God preserve your Highness.—Your Highness's most humble and devoted servant,

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

AFTER that Richard, the third of that name, king in fact only, but tyrant both in title and regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was, by the Divine revenge favouring the design of an exiled man, overthrown and slain at Bosworth-field, there succeeded in the kingdom the earl of Richmond, thenceforth styled Henry the Seventh. The king immediately after the victory, as one that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused "Te Deum laudamus" to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of military election or recognition, saluted

king. Meanwhile the body of Richard, after many indignities and reproaches, the *diriges* and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants, was obscurely buried. For though the king of his nobleness gave charge unto the friars of Leicester to see an honourable interment to be given to it, yet the religious people themselves, being not free from the humours of the vulgar, neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any man's blame or censure: no man thinking any ignominy or contumely unworthy of him that had been the executioner of King Henry the Sixth, that innocent prince, with his own hands; the contriver of the death of the duke of Clarence, his brother; the murderer of his two nephews, one of them his lawful king in the present, and the other in the future, failing of him; and vehemently suspected to have been the impoisoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his bed, for a marriage within the degrees forbidden. And although he were a prince in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker, for the ease and solace of the common people; yet his cruelties and parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues and merits; and, in the opinion of wise men, even those virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned and affected things to serve his ambition, than true qualities ingenerate in his judgment or nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great understanding, who, seeing his after-acts, looked back upon his former proceedings, that even in the time of King Edward his brother he was not without secret trains and mines to turn envy and hatred upon his brother's government; as having an expectation and a kind of divination, that the king, by reason of his many disorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leave his sons of tender years; and then he knew well, how easy a step it was, from the place of a protector, and first prince of the blood, to the crown. And that out of this deep root of ambition it sprung, that as well at the treaty of peace that passed between Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh of France concluded by interview of both kings at Piqueny, as upon all other occasions, Richard, then duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king his brother, and drawing the eyes

of all, especially of the nobles and soldiers, upon himself; as if the king, by his voluptuous life and mean marriage, were become effeminate and less sensible of honour and reason of state than was fit for a king. And as for the politic and wholesome laws which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the brokage of an usurper, thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himself, that the true obligations of sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign, and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest king in the newness of his estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent in his person, three several titles to the imperial crown. The first, the title of the Lady Elizabeth, with whom by precedent pact with the party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long-disputed title both by plea and arms, of the house of Lancaster, to which he was inheritor in his own person. The third, the title of the sword or conquest, for that he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the people, who by two-and-twenty years' reign of King Edward the Fourth, had been fully made capable of the clearness of the title of the white rose, or house of York; and by the mild and plausible reign of the same king towards his latter time, were become affectionate to that line. But then it lay plain before his eyes, that if he relied upon that title, he could be but a king at courtesy, and have rather a matrimonial than a regal power; the right remaining in his queen, upon whose decease, either with issue or without issue, he was to give place and be removed. And though he should obtain by parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a king that holdeth his crown by a civil act of estates, and one that holdeth it originally by the law of nature and descent of blood. Neither wanted there even at that time secret rumours and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great troubles, that the two young sons of King

Edward the Fourth, or one of them, which were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which, if it had been true, had prevented the title of the Lady Elizabeth. On the other side, if he stood upon his own title of the house of Lancaster, inherent in his person, he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm, and that it tended directly to the disinherison of the line of York, held then the indubitate heirs of the crown. So that if he should have no issue by the Lady Elizabeth, which should be descendants of the double line, then the ancient flames of discord and intestine wars, upon the competition of both houses, would again return and revive.

As for conquest, notwithstanding Sir William Stanley, after some acclamations of the soldiers in the field, had put a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in the battle, and was found amongst the spoils, upon King Henry's head, as if there were his chief title; yet he remembered well upon what conditions and agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as conqueror, was to put as well his own party, as the rest, into terror and fear; as that which gave him power of disannulling of laws, and disposing of men's fortunes and estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that William himself, commonly called the Conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the power of a conqueror to reward his Normans, yet he forbore to use that claim in the beginning, but mixed it with a titulary pretence, grounded upon the will and designation of Edward the Confessor. But the king, out of the greatness of his own mind, presently cast the die; and the inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts, and knowing there could not be any interreign, or suspension of title, and preferring his affection to his own line and blood, and liking that title best which made him independent; and being in his nature and constitution of mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future events afar off, but an entertainer of fortune by the day; resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage and that of battle, but as supporters, he one to appease secret discontents, and the other to beat

down open murmur and dispute : not forgetting that the same title of Lancaster had formerly maintained a possession of three descents in the crown, and might have proved in perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince. Whereupon the king presently that very day, being the two-and-twentieth of August, assumed the style of king in his own name, without mention of the Lady Elizabeth at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted : which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles. The king, full of these thoughts, before his departure from Leicester, despatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, where were kept in safe custody, by King Richard's commandment, both the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward, and Edward Plantagenet, son and heir to George, duke of Clarence. This Edward was by the king's warrant delivered from the constable of the castle to the hand of Sir Robert Willoughby, and by him with all safety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of London, where he was shut up close prisoner. Which act of the king's, being an act merely of policy and power, proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Doctor Shaw's tale at Paul's Cross for the bastarding of Edward the Fourth's issues, in which case this young gentleman was to succeed, for that fable was ever exploded, but upon a settled disposition to depress all eminent persons of the line of York. Wherein still the king out of strength of will, or weakness of judgment, did use to show a little more of the party than of the king.

For the Lady Elizabeth, she received also a direction to repair with all convenient speed to London, and there to remain with the queen dowager her mother ; which accordingly she soon after did, accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour. In the mean season the king set forward by easy journeys to the city of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of the people as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very demonstrations and fulness of the cry. For they thought generally, that he was a prince, as ordained and sent down from heaven, to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two houses ; which although they had had, in the times of Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, and

part of Henry the Sixth, on the one side, and the times of Edward the Fourth on the other, lucid intervals and happy pauses; yet they did ever hang over the kingdom, ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities. And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other side with great wisdom, not ignorant of the affections and fears of the people, to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest, had given order, that there should be nothing in his journey like unto a warlike march or manner; but rather like unto the progress of a king in full peace and assurance.

He entered the city upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him.

The mayor and companies of the city received him at Shoreditch; whence with great and honourable attendance, and troops of noblemen, and persons of quality, he entered the city; himself not being on horseback, or in any open chair or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence into the people, than to fawn upon them.

He went first into St. Paul's Church, where, not meaning that the people should forget too soon that he came in by battle, he made offertory of his standards, and had orisons and "Te Deum" again sung; and went to his lodging prepared in the bishop of London's palace, where he stayed for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his council and other principal persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his promise to marry with the Lady Elizabeth. This he did the rather, because having at his coming out of Britain given artificially, for serving his own turn, some hopes, in case he obtained the kingdom, to marry Anne, inheritress to the duchy of Britain, whom Charles the Eighth of France soon after married, it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the match of England so much desired: which con-

ceit also, though it were but talk and discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady Elizabeth herself. But howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired it, and desired also it should be so believed, the better to extinguish envy and contradiction to his other purposes, yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the consummation thereof, till his coronation and a parliament were past. The one, lest a joint coronation of himself and his queen might give any countenance of participation of title; the other, lest in the entailing of the crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by parliament, the votes of the parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time in autumn, towards the end of September, there began and reigned in the city, and other parts of the kingdom, a disease then new: which by the accidents and manner thereof they called the sweating sickness. This disease had a swift course, both in the sick body, and in the time and period of the lasting thereof; for they that were taken with it, upon four and twenty hours escaping, were thought almost assured. And as to the time of the malice and reign of the disease ere it ceased, it began about the one-and-twentieth of September, and cleared up before the end of October, insomuch as it was no hinderance to the king's coronation, which was the last of October; nor, which was more, to the holding of the parliament, which began but seven days after. It was a pestilent fever, but, as it seemeth, not seated in the veins or humours, for that there followed no carbuncle, no purple or livid spots, or the like, the mass of the body being not tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart, and seized the vital spirits; which stirred nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience, that this disease was rather a surprise of nature than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time looked unto. For if the patient were kept in an equal temper, both for clothes, fire, and drink, moderately warm, with temperate cordials, whereby nature's work were neither irritated by heat, nor turned back by cold, he commonly recovered. But infinite persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an epidemic disease, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the air, gathered by the

predispositions of seasons; and the speedy cessation declared as much.

On Simon and Jude's eve, the king dined with Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal; and from Lambeth went by land over the bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made twelve knights bannerets. But for creations he dispensed them with a sparing hand. For notwithstanding a field so lately fought, and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three: Jasper, earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas, the Lord Stanley, the king's father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, earl of Devon; though the king had then nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of parliament; bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his creations, some to honour his coronation, and some his parliament.

The coronation followed two days after, upon the thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1485; at which time Innocent the Eighth was pope of Rome; Frederick the Third, emperor of Almain; and Maximilian his son, newly chosen king of the Romans; Charles the Eighth, king of France; Ferdinando and Isabella, kings of Spain; and James the Third, king of Scotland: with all which kings and states the king was at that time in good peace and amity. At which day also, as if the crown upon his head had put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers, under a captain to attend him, by the name of yeomen of his guard: and yet, that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of what he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after. The seventh of November the king held his parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to London. His ends in calling a parliament, and that so speedily, were chiefly three: first, to procure the crown to be entailed upon himself. Next, to have the attainders of all his party, which were in no small number, reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done in his quarrel remitted and discharged; and on the other side, to attaint by parliament

the heads and principals of his enemies. The third, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party by a general pardon: not being ignorant in how great danger a king stands from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his danger. Unto these three special motives of a parliament was added, that he, as a prudent and moderate prince, made this judgment, that it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see, that he meant to govern by law, howsoever he came in by the sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their king, whom they had so lately talked of as an enemy or banished man. For that which concerned the entailing of the crown, more than that he was true to his own will, that he would not endure any mention of the Lady Elizabeth, no not in the nature of special entail, he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and measure: for he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right; as, on the other side, he avoided to have it by new law or ordinance, but chose rather a kind of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words: "that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king," &c., which words might easily be applied, that the crown should continue to him; but whether as having former right to it, which was doubtful, or having it then in fact and possession, which no man denied, was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the limitation of the entail, he did not press it to go farther than to himself and to the heirs of his body, not speaking of his right heirs: but leaving that to the law to decide: so as the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and his children, than a total disinherison to the house of York. And in this form was the law drawn and passed. Which statute he procured to be confirmed by the pope's bull the year following, with mention nevertheless, by way of recital, of his other titles, both of descent and conquest. So as now the wreath of three, was made a wreath of five; for to the first three titles of the two houses, or lines, and conquest, were added two more, the authorities parliamentary and papal.

The king likewise, in the reversal of the attainders of his partakers, and discharging them of all offences incident to his service and succour, had his will; and acts did pass

accordingly. In the passage whereof, exception was taken to divers persons in the House of Commons, for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in parliament, being disabled in the highest degree; and that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make laws, who themselves were not inlawed. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the time of King Richard been strongest, and most declared for the king's party, were returned knights and burgesses for the parliament; whether by care or recommendation from the state, or the voluntary inclination of the people; many of which had been by Richard the Third attainted by outlawries, or otherwise. The king was somewhat troubled with this; for though it had a grave and specious show, yet it reflected upon his party. But wisely not showing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a case in law, and wished the judges to be advised thereupon; who for that purpose were forthwith assembled in the exchequer-chamber, which is the council-chamber of the judges, and upon deliberation they gave a grave and safe opinion and advice, mixed with law and convenience; which was, that the knights and burgesses attainted by the course of law should forbear to come into the house, till a law were passed for the reversal of their attainders.

It was at that time incidently moved amongst the judges in their consultation, what should be done for the king himself, who likewise was attainted? But it was with unanimous consent resolved, "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that from the time the king did assume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged." But nevertheless, for honour's sake, it was ordained by parliament, that all records, wherein there was any memory or mention of the king's attainder, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the file.

But on the part of the king's enemies there were by parliament attainted, the late duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third; the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of degree and quality. In which bills of attainder, nevertheless, there were contained many just and temperate clauses, savings,

and provisoes, well showing and fore-tokening the wisdom, stay, and moderation of the king's spirit of government. And for the pardon of the rest, that had stood against the king, the king, upon a second advice, thought it not fit it should pass by parliament, the better, being matter of grace, to impropriate the thanks to himself; using only the opportunity of a parliament time, the better to disperse it into the veins of the kingdom. Therefore during the parliament he published his royal proclamation, offering pardon and grace of restitution to all such as had taken arms, or been participant of any attempts against him; so as they submitted themselves to his mercy by a day, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to him. Whereupon many came out of sanctuary, and many more came out of fear, no less guilty than those that had taken sanctuary.

As for money or treasure, the king thought it not seasonable or fit to demand any of his subjects at this parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any general pardon, being prevented therein by the coronation pardon passed immediately before; but chiefly, for that it was in every man's eye, what great forfeitures and confiscations he had at that present to help himself; whereby those casualties of the crown might in reason spare the purses of the subject; especially in a time when he was in peace with all his neighbours. Some few laws passed at that parliament, almost for form sake: amongst which there was one, to reduce aliens, being made denizens, to pay strangers' customs; and another, to draw to himself the seizures and compositions of Italians' goods, for not employment; being points of profit to his coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful, and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early providence, which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his people, could likewise have attempered his nature therein. He added, during parliament, to his former creations, the ennoblement or advancement in nobility of a few others: the Lord Chandos of Britain was made earl of Bath; Sir Giles Daubeney was made Lord Daubeney; and Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brook.

The king did also, with great nobleness and bounty, which

virtues at that time had their turns in his nature, restore Edward Stafford, eldest son to Henry, duke of Buckingham, attainted in the time of King Richard, not only to his dignities, but to his fortunes and possessions, which were great: to which he was moved also by a kind of gratitude, for that the duke was the man that moved the first stone against the tyranny of King Richard, and indeed made the king a bridge to the crown upon his own ruins. Thus the parliament broke up.

The parliament being dissolved, the king sent forth with money to redeem the Marquis Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier; whom he had left as his pledges at Paris, for money which he had borrowed, when he made his expedition for England. And thereupon he took a fit occasion to send the lord treasurer and master Bray, whom he used as counsellor, to the lord mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest of six thousand marks; but after many parleys, he could obtain but two thousand pounds; which nevertheless the king took in good part, as men use to do, that practise to borrow money when they have no need. About this time the king called unto his privy-council John Morton and Richard Fox, the one bishop of Ely, the other bishop of Exeter; vigilant men, and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his affairs, before he came to the crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune. This Morton soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, he made archbishop of Canterbury. And for Fox, he made him lord keeper of his privy-seal, and afterwards advanced him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For although the king loved to employ and advance bishops, because having rich bishoprics, they carried their reward upon themselves; yet he did use to raise them by steps, that he might not lose the profit of the first fruits, which by that course of gradation was multiplied.

At last, upon the eighteenth of January, was solemnized the so long expected and so much desired marriage, between the king and the Lady Elizabeth; which day of marriage was celebrated with greater triumph and demonstrations, especially on the people's part, of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation; which the king rather

noted than liked. And it is true, that all his lifetime, while the Lady Elizabeth lived with him, for she died before him, he showed himself no very indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his aversion towards the house of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed.

Towards the middle of the spring, the king, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play, and the enjoying of a kingdom: yet, as a wise and watchful king, he would not neglect anything for his safety; thinking nevertheless to perform all things now, rather as an exercise than as a labour. So he being truly informed that the northern parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard the Third, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the king, in his account of peace and calms, did much overcast his fortunes, which proved for many years together full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news, that the Lord Lovel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, who had formerly taken sanctuary at Colchester, were departed out of sanctuary, but to what place no man could tell: which advertisement the king despised, and continued his journey to York. At York there came fresh and more certain advertisement, that the Lord Lovel was at hand with a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester, to assail it. The king, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth-field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people, whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord Lovel, to the

number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured, being taken some few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted, under the conduct of the duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in: which the duke, upon his approach to the Lord Lovel's camp, did perform. And it fell out as the king expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the Lord Lovel, upon proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the Lady Margaret. And his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovel, in whose success their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed. The two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon view of their privilege in the King's Bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the king having by this journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

In September following, the queen was delivered of her first son, whom the king, in honour of the British race, of which himself was, named Arthur, according to the name of that ancient worthy king of the Britons, in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous. The child was strong and able, though he was born in the eighth month, which the physicians do prejudge.

There followed this year, being the second of the king's reign, a strange accident of state, whereof the relations which we have are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the nature of it, for it hath fallen out often, but for the manner and circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore we shall make our judgment upon the things themselves, as they give light one to another and, as we can, dig truth out of the mine. The king was green in his estate; and, contrary to his own opinion and desert both,

was not without much hatred throughout the realm. The root of all was the discountenancing of the house of York, which the general body of the realm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that, after his marriage, and after a son born, the king did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the coronation of the queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread abroad, whether by error, or the cunning of malecontents, that the king had a purpose to put to death Edward Plantagenet closely in the Tower: whose case was so nearly paralleled with that of Edward the Fourth's children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the king a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another King Richard. And all this time it was still whispered everywhere, that at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living: which bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired innovation. Neither was the king's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance. Thus was fuel prepared for the spark: the spark, that afterwards kindled such a fire and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtile priest called Richard Simon,[a] that lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil a baker's son, named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteen years, a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect. It came into this priest's fancy, hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great bishopric, to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward, for he changed his intention in the manage, the Lord Edward Plantagenet, then prisoner in the Tower; and accordingly to frame him and instruct

[a] The priest's name was William Simonds, and the youth was the son of . . . . . an organ-maker in Oxford, as the priest declared before the whole convocation of the clergy at Lambeth, Feb. 17, 1486. Vide Reg. Morton, f. 34. MS. Sancroft.

him in the part he was to play. This is that which, as was touched before, seemeth scarcely credible; not that a false person should be assumed to gain a kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject fellow, to enterprise so great a matter; for high conceits do sometimes come streaming into the imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunk with news and talk of the people. But here is that which hath no appearance: That this priest, being utterly unacquainted with the true person, according to whose pattern he should shape his counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his player, either in gesture and fashions; or in recounting past matters of his life and education; or in fit answers to questions, or the like; any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this lad was not to personate one, that had been long before taken out of his cradle, or conveyed away in his infancy, known to few; but a youth, that till the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him. For King Edward, touched with remorse of his brother the duke of Clarence's death, would not indeed restore his son, of whom we speak, to be duke of Clarence, but yet created him earl of Warwick, reviving his honour on the mother's side; and used him honourably during his time, though Richard the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great person that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts, is, that it was the queen dowager, from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard the Third been hatched: which the king knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter, as the king handled the matter, not advanced but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could. Nevertheless, it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better

and sager sort that favoured this enterprise, and knew the secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but at his peril to make way to the overthrow of the king; and that done, they had their several hopes and ways. That which doth chiefly fortify this conjecture is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the king's first acts to cloister the queen dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands and estate: and this by a close council, without any legal proceeding, upon far-fetched pretences that she had delivered her two daughters out of sanctuary to King Richard, contrary to promise. Which proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the king, upon reason of policy, and to avoid envy, would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of examinations, for that the priest Simon himself, after he was taken, was never brought to execution; no, not so much as to public trial, as many clergymen were upon less treasons, but was only shut up close in a dungeon. Add to this, that after the earl of Lincoln, a principal person of the house of York, was slain in Stoke-field, the king opened himself to some of his council that he was sorry for the earl's death, because by him, he said, he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the narration itself: Simon did first instruct his scholar for the part of Richard, duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth; and this was at such a time as it was voiced that the king purposed to put to death Edward Plantagenet, prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that Plantagenet had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoicing at his escape, the cunning priest changed his copy, and chose now Plantagenet to be the subject his pupil should personate, because he was more in the present speech and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely upon the bruit of Plantagenet's escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking, and too much perspective into his disguise, if

he should show it here in England; he thought good, after the manner of scenes in stage-plays and masks, to show it afar off; and therefore sailed with his scholar into Ireland, where the affection to the house of York was most in height. The king had been a little improvident in the matters of Ireland, and had not removed officers and counsellors, and put in their places, or at least intermingled, persons of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the house of York; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was. But trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares afterwards to that second kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of Simon with his pretended Plantagenet into Ireland, all things were prepared for revolt and sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. Simon's first address was to the Lord Thomas Fitzgerard, earl of Kildare, and deputy of Ireland, before whose eyes he did cast such a mist, by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his youth, that expressed a natural princely behaviour, as joined perhaps with some inward vapours of ambition and affection in the earl's own mind, left him fully possessed that it was the true Plantagenet. The earl presently communicated the matter with some of the nobles and others there, at the first secretly; but finding them of like affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad, because they thought it not safe to resolve till they had a taste of the people's inclination. But if the great ones were in forwardness, the people were in fury, entertaining this airy body or phantasm with incredible affection, partly out of their great devotion to the house of York, partly out of a proud humour in the nation to give a king to the realm of England. Neither did the party, in this heat of affection, much trouble themselves with the attainder of George, duke of Clarence, having newly learned, by the king's example, that attainders do not interrupt the conveying of title to the crown. And as for the daughters of King Edward the Fourth, they thought King Richard had said enough for them, and took them to be but as of the king's party, because they were in his power and at

his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause this counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great solemnity to the castle of Dublin, and there saluted, served, and honoured as king; the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did betray the baseness of his condition. And within a few days after he was proclaimed king in Dublin, by the name of King Edward the Sixth, there being not a sword drawn in King Henry's quarrel.

The king was much moved with this unexpected accident when it came to his ears, both because it struck upon that string which ever he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a place where he could not with safety transfer his own person to suppress it. For partly through natural valour, and partly through an universal suspicion, not knowing whom to trust, he was ever ready to wait upon all his achievements in person. The king, therefore, first called his council together at the charter-house at Shine; which council was held with great secrecy, but the open decrees thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was, that the queen dowager, for that she, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with King Henry, had nevertheless delivered her daughters out of sanctuary into King Richard's hands, should be cloistered in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that Edward Plantagenet, then close prisoner in the Tower, should be, in the most public and notorious manner that could be devised, showed unto the people; in part to discharge the king of the envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower, but chiefly to make the people see the levity and imposture of the proceedings of Ireland, and that their Plantagenet was indeed but a puppet or a counterfeit.

The third was, that there should be again proclaimed a general pardon to all that would reveal their offences, and submit themselves by a day. And that this pardon should be conceived in so ample and liberal a manner, as no high-treason, no not against the king's own person, should be excepted. Which though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise king, that knew his greatest dangers were

not from the least treasons, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the king and his council were immediately put in execution. And first, the queen dowager was put into the monastery of Bermondsey, and all her estates seized into the king's hands; whereat there was much wondering, that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein the king had showed no displeasure nor alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage between the king and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should, upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the king's mind, be so severely handled.

This lady was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first, from a distressed suitor and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage bed of a bachelor king, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she had endured a strange eclipse by the king's flight, and temporary depriving from the crown. She was also very happy in that she had by him fair issue, and continued his nuptial love, helping herself by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own kindred, even unto faction, which did stir great envy in the lords of the king's side, who counted her blood a disparagement to be mingled with the king's. With which lords of the king's blood joined also the king's favourite, the Lord Hastings, who, notwithstanding the king's great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husband's death she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while, nevertheless, she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes; but afterwards again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a king to her son-in-law, and was made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex; yet was she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery, where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her or see her, and where not long after she ended her life, but was by the king's commandment buried with the king, her husband at Windsor. She was foundress of Queen's College in Cambridge. For this act the king sustained great

obloquy, which nevertheless, besides the reason of state, was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.

About this time also, Edward Plantagenet was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principal streets of London, to be seen of the people. And having passed the view of the streets, was conducted to Paul's church in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the nobility, and others of quality, especially of those that the king most suspected, and knew the person of Plantagenet best, had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse, which did in effect mar the pageant in Ireland with the subjects here, at least with so many as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, in Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise, they turned the imposture upon the king, and gave out that the king, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people, and not sparing to profane the ceremony of a procession the more to countenance the fable.

The general pardon likewise near the same time came forth, and the king therewithal omitted no diligence in giving strait order for the keeping of the ports, that fugitives, malecontents, or suspected persons, might not pass over into Ireland and Flanders.

Meanwhile the rebels in Ireland had sent privy messengers both into England and into Flanders, who in both places had wrought effects of no small importance. For in England they won to their party John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, King Edward the Fourth's eldest sister. This earl was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations for a time; for Richard the Third had a resolution, out of his hatred to both his brethren, King Edward and the duke of Clarence, and their lines, having had his hand in both their bloods, to disable their issues upon false and incompetent pretexts—the one of attainder, the other of illegitimation; and to design this gentleman, in case himself should die without children, for

inheritor of the crown. Neither was this unknown to the king, who had secretly an eye upon him. But the king, having tasted the envy of the people for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful to heap up any more distastes of that kind, by the imprisonment of De la Pole also; the rather thinking it policy to conserve him as a co-rival unto the other. The earl of Lincoln was induced to participate with the action of Ireland, not lightly upon the strength of the proceedings there, which was but a bubble, but upon letters from the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, in whose succours and declaration for the enterprise there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for reputation and forces. Neither did the earl refrain the business, for that he knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol. But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false Plantagenet than the true, because the false being sure to fall away of himself, and the true to be made sure by the king, it might open and pave a fair and prepared way to his own title. With this resolution he sailed secretly into Flanders, where was a little before arrived the Lord Lovel, leaving a correspondence here in England with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great power and dependencies in Lancashire. For before this time, when the pretended Plantagenet was first received in Ireland, secret messengers had been also sent to the Lady Margaret, advertising her what was passed in Ireland, imploring succours in an enterprise, as they said, so pious and just, that God had so miraculously prospered the beginning thereof, and making offer that all things should be guided by her will and direction, as the sovereign patroness and protectoress of the enterprise. Margaret was second sister to King Edward the Fourth, and had been second wife to Charles, surnamed the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, by whom having no children of her own, she did with singular care and tenderness intend the education of Philip and Margaret, grandchildren to her former husband, which won her great love and authority among the Dutch. This princess, having the spirit of a man and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her

house, and had set up King Henry as a mark, at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the counsels of his succeeding troubles came chiefly out of that quiver. And she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece, as the means of the king's ascent to the crown and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this overture. And upon counsel taken with the earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Lovel, and some other of the party, it was resolved with all speed, that the two lords, assisted with a regiment of two thousand Almains, being choice and veteran bands, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experimented captain, should pass over into Ireland to the new king, hoping that when the action should have the face of a received and settled regality, with such a second person as the earl of Lincoln, and the conjunction and reputation of foreign succours, the fame of it would embolden and prepare all the party of the confederates and malecontents within the realm of England to give them assistance when they should come over there. And for the person of the counterfeit, it was agreed that if all things succeeded well he should be put down, and the true Plantagenet received, wherein, nevertheless, the earl of Lincoln had his particular hopes. After they were come into Ireland, and that the party took courage, by seeing themselves together in a body, they grew very confident of success, conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better cards to overthrow King Henry, than King Henry had to overthrow King Richard, and that if there were not a sword drawn against them in Ireland, it was a sign the swords in England would be soon sheathed or beaten down. And first, for a bravery upon this accession of power, they crowned their new king in the cathedral church of Dublin, who formerly had been but proclaimed only; and then sat in council what should farther be done. At which council, though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in Ireland, and to make that the seat of the war, and to draw King Henry thither in person, by whose absence they thought there would be great alterations and

commotions in England; yet because the kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their army together, nor pay their German soldiers, and for that also the sway of the Irishmen, and generally of the men of war, which, as in such cases of popular tumults is usual, did in effect govern their leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes upon England, it was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into England. The king, in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in Ireland, though it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the Irish as a flight of birds, and rattle away this swarm of bees with their king; when he heard afterwards that the earl of Lincoln was embarked in the action, and that the Lady Margaret was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true degree as it was, and saw plainly that his kingdom must again be put to the stake, and that he must fight for it. And first he did conceive, before he understood of the earl of Lincoln's sailing into Ireland out of Flanders, that he should be assailed both upon the east parts of the kingdom of England, by some impression from Flanders, and upon the north-west out of Ireland. And, therefore, having ordered musters to be made in both parts, and having provisionally designed two generals, Jasper, earl of Bedford, and John, earl of Oxford, meaning himself also to go in person where the affairs should most require it, and nevertheless not expecting any actual invasion at that time, the winter being far on, he took his journey himself towards Suffolk and Norfolk, for the confirming of those parts. And being come to St. Edmond's-Bury, he understood that Thomas, Marquis Dorset, who had been one of the pledges in France, was hasting towards him, to purge himself of some accusations which had been made against him. But the king, though he kept an ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the earl of Oxford to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower, with a fair message, nevertheless, that he should bear that disgrace with patience, for that the king meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt either to the king's service or to himself, and that the king should always be able, when he had cleared himself, to make him reparation.

From St. Edmond's-Bury he went to Norwich, where he

kept his Christmas. And from thence he went, in a manner of pilgrimage, to Walsingham, where he visited Our Lady's church famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance. And from thence he returned by Cambridge to London. Not long after, the rebels, with their king, under the leading of the earl of Lincoln, the earl of Kildare, the Lord Lovel, and Colonel Swart, landed at Fouldrey in Lancashire; whither there repaired to them Sir Thomas Broughton, with some small company of English. The king, by that time, knowing now the storm would not divide, but fall in one place, had levied forces in good number; and in person, taking with him his two designed generals, the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, was come on his way towards them as far as Coventry, whence he sent forth a troop of light horsemen for discovery, and to intercept some stragglers of the enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their progress and purposes, which was accordingly done; though the king otherwise was not without intelligence from espials in the camp.

The rebels took their way toward York, without spoiling the country, or any act of hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the people, and to personate their king; who, no doubt, out of a princely feeling, was sparing and compassionate towards his subjects: but their snow-ball did not gather as it went. For the people came not in to them; neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them; which was caused partly by the good taste that the king had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of England, to have a king brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgment on the party of the rebels, for them to take their way towards York: considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a nursery of their friends; yet it was there, where the Lord Lovel had so lately disbanded, and where the king's presence had a little before qualified discontents. The earl of Lincoln, deceived of his hopes of the country's concourse unto him, in which case he would have temporized; and

seeing the business past retract, resolved to make on where the king was, and to give him battle; and thereupon marched towards Newark, thinking to have surprised the town. But the king was somewhat before this time come to Nottingham, where he called a council of war, at which was consulted whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set upon the rebels. In which council the king himself, whose continual vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless suspicions, which few else knew, inclined to the accelerating a battle; but this was presently put out of doubt, by the great aids that came in to him in the instant of this consultation, partly upon missives, and partly voluntaries, from many parts of the kingdom.

The principal persons that came then to the king's aid, were the earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Strange, of the nobility; and of knights and gentlemen, to the number of at least threescore and ten persons, with their companies, making in the whole, at the least, six thousand fighting men, besides the forces that were with the king before. Whereupon the king, finding his army so bravely reinforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former resolution, and marched speedily, so as he put himself between the enemies' camp and Newark; being loth their army should get the commodity of that town. The earl, nothing dismayed, came forwards that day unto a little village called Stoke, and there encamped that night, upon the brow or hanging of a hill. The king the next day presented him battle upon the plain, the fields there being open and champain. The earl courageously came down and joined battle with him. Concerning which battle the relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent, though it be an action of so recent memory, as they rather declare the success of the day, than the manner of the fight. They say, that the king divided his army into three battails; whereof the vant-guard only, well strengthened with wings, came to fight: that the fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three hours, before the victory inclined either way; save that judgment might be made by that, the king's vant-guard of itself maintained fight against the whole power of the enemies, the other two battails remained out of action, what the success was like to be in the end: that Martin Swart

with his Germans performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side; neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness; but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest: that there died upon the place all the chieftains; that is, the earl of Lincoln, the earl of Kildare, Francis Lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton; all making good the fight, without any ground given. Only of the Lord Lovel there went a report, that he fled, and swam over Trent on horseback, but could not recover the farther side, by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a cave or vault. The number that was slain in the field was of the enemies' part, four thousand at the least; and of the king's part, one half of his vantguard, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners, amongst others, the counterfeit Plantagenet, now Lambert Simnell again, and the crafty priest his tutor. For Lambert, the king would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax, that others had tempered and molded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that, in a kind of *mattacina* of human fortune, he turned a broach, that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more; the king loving to seal up his own dangers.

After the battle the king went to Lincoln, where he caused supplications and thanksgivings to be made for his deliverance and victory. And that his devotions might go round in circle, he sent his banner to be offered to our Lady of Walsingham, where before he made his vows. And thus delivered of this so strange an engine, and new invention of

fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind; thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out unto him according to the speech of the common people in the beginning of his reign, that said, It was a token he should reign in labour, because his reign began with a sickness of sweat. But howsoever the king thought himself now in a haven, yet such was his wisdom, as his confidence did seldom darken his foresight, especially in things near hand. And therefore, awakened by so fresh and unexpected dangers, he entered into due consideration, as well how to weed out the partakers of the former rebellion, as to kill the seeds of the like in time to come: and withal to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented persons, where they might hatch and foster rebellions, which afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, he did yet again make a progress from Lincoln to the northern parts, though it were indeed rather an itinerary circuit of justice than a progress. For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by martial law, and partly by commission, were punished the adherents and aiders of the late rebels. Not all by death, for the field had drawn much blood, but by fines and ransoms, which spared life, and raised treasure. Amongst other crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquiry made of such as had raised and dispersed a bruit and rumour, a little before the field fought, "that the rebels had the day; and that the king's army was overthrown, and the king fled." Whereby it was supposed that many succours, which otherwise would have come unto the king, were cunningly put off and kept back. Which charge and accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not affected to the king's part, nor forward to come to his aid, were glad to apprehend this colour to cover their neglect and coldness, under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the king would not understand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and causes of the like commotions in time to come, the king began to find where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing

the house of York that did rankle and fester the affections of his people. And therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer, and willing to give some contentment in that kind, at least in ceremony, he resolved at last to proceed to the coronation of his queen. And, therefore, at his coming to London, where he entered in state, and in a kind of triumph, and celebrated his victory with two days of devotion (for the first day he repaired to Paul's and had the hymn of "Te Deum" sung, and the morrow after he went in procession, and heard the sermon at the cross), the queen was with great solemnity crowned at Westminster, the five-and-twentieth of November, in the third year of his reign, which was about two years after the marriage; like an old christening, that had stayed long for god-fathers. Which strange and unusual distance of time made it subject to every man's note, that it was an act against his stomach, and put upon him by necessity and reason of state. Soon after, to show that it was now fair weather again, and that the imprisonment of Thomas, Marquis Dorset, was rather upon suspicion of the time, than of the man, he, the said marquis, was set at liberty, without examination or other circumstance. At that time also the king sent an ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his marriage; and that now, like another Æneas, he had passed through the floods of his former troubles and travels, and was arrived unto a safe haven: and thanking his Holiness that he had honoured the celebration of his marriage with the presence of his ambassador; and offering both his person and the forces of his kingdom, upon all occasions, to do him service.

The ambassador making his oration to the pope, in the presence of the cardinals, did so magnify the king and queen, as was enough to glut the hearers. But then he did again so extol and deify the pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his master and mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertained, and extremely much made on by the pope: who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in remote parts. He obtained also of the pope a very just and honourable bull, qualifying the privileges of

sanctuary wherewith the king had been extremely galled, in three points.

The first, that if any sanctuary man did by night, or otherwise, get out of sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of sanctuary for ever after. The second, that howsoever the person of the sanctuary man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not. The third, that if any took sanctuary for case of treason, the king might appoint him keepers to look to him in sanctuary.

The king also, for the better securing of his estate against mutinous and malecontented subjects, whereof he saw the realm was full, who might have their refuge into Scotland, which was not under key, as the ports were; for that cause, rather than for any doubt of hostility from those parts, before his coming to London, when he was at Newcastle, had sent a solemn ambassage unto James the Third, king of Scotland, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The ambassadors were, Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcombe, comptroller of the king's house, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the king of Scotland labouring of the same disease that king Henry did, though more mortal, as afterwards appeared, that is, discontented subjects, apt to rise and raise tumult, although in his own affection he did much desire to make a peace with the king; yet finding his nobles averse, and not daring to displease them, concluded only a truce for seven years; giving nevertheless promise in private, that it should be renewed from time to time during the two kings' lives.

Hitherto the king had been exercised in settling his affairs at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign business. Charles the Eighth, the French king, by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate predecessors, Charles the Seventh, his grandfather, and Lewis the Eleventh, his father, received the kingdom of France in more flourishing and spread estate than it had been of many years before: being redintegrate in those principal members, which anciently had been portions of the crown of France, and were afterward dissevered, so as they remained only in homage, and not in sovereignty, being governed by absolute princes of their own;

Anjou, Normandy, Provence, and Burgundy. There remained only Britain to be reunited, and so the monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient terms and bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an ambition to re-purchase and re-annex that duchy; which his ambition was a wise and well-weighed ambition; not like unto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprises of Italy. For at that time, being newly come to the crown, he was somewhat guided by his father's counsels, counsels not counsellors, for his father was his own council, and had few able men about him. And that king, he knew well, had ever distasted the designs of Italy, and in particular had an eye upon Britain. There were many circumstances that did feed the ambition of Charles with pregnant and apparent hopes of success: the duke of Britain old, and entered into a lethargy, and served with mercenary counsellors, father of two only daughters, the one sickly and not like to continue; King Charles himself in the flower of his age, and the subjects of France at that time well trained for war, both for leaders and soldiers; men of service being not yet worn out since the wars of Lewis against Burgundy. He found himself also in peace with all his neighbour princes. As for those that might oppose to his enterprise, Maximilian, king of the Romans, his rival in the same desires (as well for the duchy, as the daughter), feeble in means; and King Henry of England, as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a fair and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition, and to justify his warring upon Britain; for that the duke had received and succoured Lewis duke of Orleans, and other of the French nobility, which had taken arms against their king. Wherefore King Charles, being resolved upon that war, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent, as if King Henry should, either upon policy of state, in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the duke of Britain for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory, but forthwith he sent ambassadors unto him to pray his assistance, or at least that he would stand neutral. Which ambassadors found the king

at Leicester, and delivered their ambassage to this effect: They first imparted unto the king the success that their master had had a little before against Maximilian, in recovery of certain towns from him: which was done in a kind of privacy, and inwardness towards the king; as if the French king did not esteem him for an outward or formal confederate, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his business. After this compliment, and some gratulation for the king's victory, they fell to their errand; declaring to the king, That their master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary war with the duke of Britain, for that he had received and succoured those that were traitors and declared enemies unto his person and state. That they were no mean, distressed, and calamitous persons that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infest and invade his; the head of them being the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, and the second person of France. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their master's part a defensive war than an offensive; as that that could not be omitted or forborne, if he tendered the conservation of his own estate; and that it was not the first blow that made the war invasive, for that no wise prince would stay for, but the first provocation, or at least the first preparation; nay, that this war was rather a suppression of rebels, than a war with a just enemy; where the case is, that his subjects, traitors, are received by the duke of Britain his homager. That King Henry knew well what went upon it in example, if neighbour princes should patronize and comfort rebels against the law of nations and of leagues. Nevertheless, that their master was not ignorant, that the king had been beholden to the duke of Britain in his adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readiness of their king, in aiding him when the duke of Britain, or his mercenary counsellors, failed him, and would have betrayed him; and that there was a great difference between the courtesies received from their master, and the duke of Britain: for that the duke might have ends of utility and bargain; whereas their master could not have proceeded but out of entire affection; for that, if it had been

measured by a politic line, it had been better for his affairs, that a tyrant should have reigned in England, troubled and hated, than such a prince, whose virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be master of his affairs. But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation which the king might owe to the duke of Britain, yet their master was well assured, it would not divert King Henry of England from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a quarrel. Therefore, since this war, which their master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent dangers, their king hoped the king would show the like affection to the conservation of their master's estate, as their master had, when time was, showed to the king's acquisition of his kingdom. At the least, that according to the inclination which the king had ever professed of peace, he would look on, and stand neutral; for that their master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the war, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions. But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the duchy of Britain to the crown of France, either by war, or by marriage with the daughter of Britain, the ambassadors bare aloof from it as from a rock, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced, in their conference with the king, the assured purpose of their master to match with the daughter of Maximilian; and entertained the king also with some wandering discourses of their king's purpose, to recover by arms his right to the kingdom of Naples, by an expedition in person; all to remove the king from all jealousy of any design in these hither parts upon Britain, otherwise than for quenching of the fire which he feared might be kindled in his own estate.

The king, after advice taken with his council, made answer to the ambassadors: and first returned their compliment, showing he was right glad of the French king's reception of those towns from Maximilian. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his own adventures and victory passed. As to the business of Britain, the king answered in few words; that the French king, and the duke of Britain, were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all

men ; and that he should think himself very unhappy if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both ; and that there was no means for him as a Christian king, and a common friend to them, to satisfy all obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself for a mediator of an accord and peace between them ; by which course he doubted not but their king's estate, and honour both, would be preserved with more safety and less envy than by a war ; and that he would spare no costs or pains, no, if it were to go on pilgrimage, for so good an effect ; and concluded, that in this great affair, which he took so much to heart, he would express himself more fully by an ambassage, which he would speedily despatch unto the French king for that purpose. And in this sort the French ambassadors were dismissed : the king avoiding to understand anything touching the reannexing of Britain, as the ambassadors had avoided to mention it ; save that he gave a little touch of it in the word *envy*. And so it was, that the king was neither so shallow, nor so ill advertised, as not to perceive the intention of the French for the investing himself of Britain. But first, he was utterly unwilling, howsoever he gave out, to enter into war with France. A fame of a war he liked well, but not an achievement ; for the one he thought would make him richer, and the other poorer ; and he was possessed with many secret fears touching his own people, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding, as a prudent and courageous prince, he was not so averse from a war, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have Britain carried by France, being so great and opulent a duchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy England, either for coast or trade. But the king's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the French, especially in the court of a young king, and partly by the native power of Britain itself, which was not small ; but chiefly in respect of the great party that the duke of Orleans had in the kingdom of France, and thereby means to stir up civil troubles, to divert the French king from the enterprise of Britain. And lastly, in regard of the power of Maximilian, who was corival to the French king in that pursuit, the enterprise would either bow to a peace, or break

in itself. In all which the king measured and valued things amiss, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the French king Christopher Urswick, his chaplain, a person by him much trusted and employed; choosing him the rather, because he was a churchman, as best sorting with an ambassy of pacification: and giving him also a commission, that if the French king consented to treat, he should thence repair to the duke of Britain, and ripen the treaty on both parts. Urswick made declaration to the French king, much to the purpose of the king's answer to the French ambassador's here, instilling also tenderly some overture of receiving to grace the duke of Orleans, and some taste of conditions of accord. But the French king on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of art and dissimulation in this treaty; having for his end, to gain time, and so put off the English succours under hope of peace, till he had got good footing in Britain by force of arms. Wherefore he answered the ambassador, that he would put himself into the king's hands, and make him arbiter of the peace; and willingly consented, that the ambassador should straightways pass into Britain, to signify this his consent, and to know the duke's mind likewise; well foreseeing that the duke of Orleans, by whom the duke of Britain was wholly led, taking himself to be upon terms irreconcileable with him, would admit of no treaty of peace. Whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his ambition, and win the reputation of just and moderate proceedings: and should withal endear himself in the affections of the king of England, as one that had committed all to his will; nay, and which was yet more fine, make faith in him, that although he went on with the war, yet it should be but with the sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other party to accept of peace; and so the king should take no umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the treaty to be kept on foot till the very last instant, till he were master of the field.

Which grounds being by the French king wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the English ambassador came to the court of Britain, the duke was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the duke of Orleans, who gave audience to the chaplain Urswick, and upon his ambassage delivered made answer in

somewhat high terms: That the duke of Britain having been an host, and a kind of parent or foster-father to the king, in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune, did look for at this time from King Henry, the renowned king of England, rather brave troops for his succours, than a vain treaty of peace. And if the king could forget the good offices of the duke done unto him aforetime; yet, he knew well, he would in his wisdom consider of the future, how much it imported his own safety and reputation, both in foreign parts, and with his own people, not to suffer Britain, the old confederates of England, to be swallowed up by France, and so many good ports and strong towns upon the coast be in the command of so potent a neighbour king, and so ancient an enemy. And therefore humbly desired the king to think of this business as his own: and therewith brake off, and denied any farther conference for treaty.

Urswick returned first to the French king, and related to him what had passed. Who, finding things to sort to his desire, took hold of them, and said: That the ambassador might perceive now that which he for his part partly imagined before. That considering in what hands the duke of Britain was, there would be no peace but by a mixed treaty of force and persuasion: and therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the king not to desist from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the king's power, to rule him in the matter of peace. This was accordingly represented unto the king by Urswick at his return, and in such a fashion, as if the treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a better hour, till the hammer had wrought and beat the party of Britain more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually packets and despatches between the two kings, from the one out of desire, and the other out of dissimulation, about the negotiation of peace. The French king meanwhile invaded Britain with great forces, and distressed the city of Nantz with a strait siege, and, as one, who though he had no great judgment, yet had that, that he could dissemble at home, the more he did urge the prosecution of the war, the more he did, at the same time, urge the solicitation of the peace. Insomuch as during the siege of Nantz, after many letters and particular messages, the better to maintain his dissimulation, and to refresh the

treaty, he sent Bernard d'Aubigney, a person of good quality, to the king, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the business howsoever.

The king was no less ready to revive and quicken the treaty; and thereupon sent three commissioners, the abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Tunstal, and chaplain Urswick formerly employed, to do their utmost endeavours to manage the treaty roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord Woodvile, uncle to the queen, a valiant gentleman and desirous of honour, sued to the king that he might raise some power of voluntaries underhand, and without license or passport (wherein the king might any ways appear), go to the aid of the duke of Britain. The king denied his request, or at least seemed so to do, and laid strait commandment upon him, that he should not stir, for that the king thought his honour would suffer therein, during a treaty, to better a party. Nevertheless this lord, either being unruly, or out of conceit that the king would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly avow, sailed directly over into the Isle of Wight, whereof he was governor, and levied a fair troop of four hundred men, and with them passed over into Britain, and joined himself with the duke's forces. The news whereof, when it came to the French court, put divers young bloods into such a fury, as the English ambassadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the French king, both to preserve the privilege of ambassadors, and being conscious to himself, that in the business of peace he himself was the greater dissembler of the two, forbad all injuries of fact or word against their persons or followers. And presently came an agent from the king, to purge himself touching the Lord Woodvile's going over; using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority, nor could much advance the Britain affairs. To which message although the French king gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the king, and seemed satisfied. Soon after the English ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the duke of Britain, and found things in no other terms than they were before. Upon their return they informed the king of the state of affairs, and how far the French king was

from any true meaning of peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other course; neither was the king himself led all this while with credulity merely, as was generally supposed; but his error was not so much facility of belief, as an ill measuring of the forces of the other party.

For, as was partly touched before, the king had cast the business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own judgment, that the war of Britain, in respect of the strength of the towns and of the party, could not speedily come to a period. For he conceived, that the counsels of a war, that was undertaken by the French king, then childless, against an heir apparent of France, would be very faint and slow; and, besides, that it was not possible, but that the state of France should be embroiled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the duke of Orleans. He conceived likewise, that Maximilian, king of the Romans, was a prince warlike and potent; who, he made account, would give succours to the Britons roundly. So then judging it would be a work of time, he laid his plot, how he might best make use of that time for his own affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament; knowing that they being affectionate unto the quarrel of Britain, would give treasure largely: which treasure, as a noise of war would draw forth, so a peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his people were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived, and lulled asleep by the French, than to be backward in himself; considering his subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of state, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, than to set and keep on foot a continual treaty of peace, laying it down, and taking it up again, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of honour, in bearing the blessed person of a pacificator. He thought likewise to make use of the envy the French king met with, by occasion of this war of Britain, in strengthening himself with new alliances; as namely, that of Ferdinando of Spain, with whom he had ever a consent even in nature and customs; and likewise with Maximilian, who was particularly interested. So that in substance he promised himself money, honour, friends, and peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be

fortunate and succeed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges or points of wit. The king was likewise deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reason to conceive that the council of France would be wary to put the king into a war against the heir apparent of France; yet he did not consider that Charles was not guided by any of the principal of the blood or nobility, but by mean men, who would make it their master-piece of credit and favour, to give venturous counsels, which no great or wise man durst or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a greater matter than he was; his unstable and necessitous courses being not then known.

After consultation with the ambassadors, who brought him no other news than he expected before, though he would not seem to know it till then, he presently summoned his parliament, and in open parliament propounded the cause of Britain to both houses, by his chancellor Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who spake to this effect.

"My lords and masters, the king's grace, our sovereign lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the causes that have moved him at this time to summon this his parliament; which I shall do in few words, craving pardon of his grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

"His grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful memory the love and loyalty showed to him by you, at your last meeting, in establishment of his royalty; freeing and discharging of his partakers, and confiscation of his traitors and rebels; more than which could not come from subjects to their sovereign, in one action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a resolution to himself, to communicate with so loving and well approved subjects, in all affairs that are of public nature, at home or abroad.

"Two therefore are the causes of your present assembling: the one, a foreign business; the other, matter of government at home.

"The French king, as no doubt ye have heard, maketh at this present hot war upon the duke of Britain. His army is now before Nantz, and holdeth it straitly besieged, being the principal city, if not in ceremony and pre-

eminence, yet in strength and wealth, of that duchy. Ye may guess at his hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the war first. The cause of this war he knoweth best. He allegeth the entertaining and succouring of the duke of Orleans, and some other French lords, whom the king taketh for his enemies. Others divine of other matters. Both parts have, by their ambassadors, divers times prayed the king's aids; the French king, aids or neutrality; the Britons, aids simply: for so their case requireth. The king, as a Christian prince, and blessed son of the holy church, hath offered himself, as a mediator, to treat of peace between them. The French king yielded to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the war. The Britons, that desire peace most, hearken to it least; not upon confidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the war goes on. So as the king, after as much pains and care to effect a peace, as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the prosecution on the one side, nor the distrust on the other, caused by that prosecution, hath let fall the treaty; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this narrative you now understand the state of the question, whereupon the king prayeth your advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for the Britons against France?

"And the better to open your understandings in this affair, the king hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him, of the persons that do intervene in this business; and somewhat of the consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this kingdom, and somewhat of the example of it in general: making nevertheless no conclusion or judgment of any point, until his Grace hath received your faithful and politic advices.

"First, for the king our sovereign himself, who is the principal person you are to eye in this business; his grace doth profess, that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in peace. But his grace saith, he will neither buy peace with dishonour, nor take it up at interest of danger to ensue; but shall think it a good change, if it please God to change the inward troubles and seditions, wherewith he hath been

hitherto exercised, into an honourable foreign war. And for the other two persons in this action, the French king and the duke of Britain, his grace doth declare unto you, that they be the men unto whom he is of all other friends and allies most bounden: the one having held over him his hand of protection from the tyrant; the other having reached forth unto him his hand of help for the recovery of his kingdom. So that his affection toward them in his natural person is upon equal terms. And whereas you may have heard, that his grace was enforced to fly out of Britain into France, for doubts of being betrayed: his grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the duke of Britain, in defacement of his former benefits; for that he is throughly informed, that it was but the practice of some corrupt persons about him, during the time of his sickness, altogether without his consent or privity.

"But howsoever these things do interest his grace in this particular, yet he knoweth well, that the higher bond that tieth him to procure by all means the safety and welfare of his loving subjects, doth disinterest him of these obligations of gratitude, otherwise than thus; that if his grace be forced to make a war, he do it without passion or ambition.

"For the consequence of this action towards this kingdom, it is much as the French king's intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his subjects to reason, who bear themselves stout upon the strength of the duke of Britain, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French king's purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one as if it were sought, that the French king shall make a province of Britain, and join it to the crown of France; then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatness of France, by the addition of such a country, that stretcheth his boughs unto our seas, as in depriving this nation, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured confederates as the Britains have always been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas not long since this realm was mighty upon the continent, first in territory, and after in alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Britain, which were confederates indeed, but dependent confederates; now the one being already cast,

partly into the greatness of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France; and this island shall remained confined in effect within the salt waters, and girt about with the coast countries of two mighty monarchs.

"For the example, it resteth likewise upon the same question, upon the French king's intent. For if Britain be carried and swallowed up by France, as the world abroad, apt to impute and construe the actions of princes to ambition, conceive it will; then it is an example very dangerous and universal, that the lesser neighbour state should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the case of Scotland towards England; of Portugal towards Spain; of the smaller estates of Italy towards the greater; and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the commons might not live and dwell safely besides some of these great lords. And the bringing in of this example will be chiefly laid to the king's charge, as to him that was most interested, and most able to forbid it. But then on the other side, there is so fair a pretext on the French king's part (and yet pretext is never wanting to power), in regard the danger imminent to his own estate is such, as may make this enterprise seem rather a work of necessity than of ambition, as doth in reason correct the danger of the example. For that the example of that which is done in a man's own defence cannot be dangerous; because it is in another's power to avoid it. But in all this business, the king remits himself to your grave and mature advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely."

This was the effect of the lord chancellor's speech touching the cause of Britain; for the king had commanded him to carry it so, as to affect the parliament towards the business; but without engaging the king in any express declaration.

The chancellor went on:—

"For that which may concern the government at home, the king had commanded me to say unto you; that he thinketh there was never any king, for the small time that he hath reigned, had greater and juster cause of the two contrary passions of joy and sorrow, than his grace hath. Joy, in respect of the rare and visible favours of Almighty God, in girding the imperial sword upon his side, and assisting the same his sword against all his enemies; and likewise

in blessing him with so many good and loving servants and subjects which have never failed to give him faithful counsel, ready obedience, and courageous defence. Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheath his sword, as he greatly desired, otherwise than for administration of justice, but that he hath been forced to draw it so oft, to cut off traitorous and disloyal subjects, whom, it seems, God hath left, a few amongst many good, as the Canaanites amongst the people of Israel, to be thorns in their sides, to tempt and try them; though the end hath been always, God's name be blessed therefore, that the destruction hath fallen upon their own heads.

"Wherefore his grace saith, That he seeth that it is not the blood spilt in the field that will save the blood in the city: nor the marshal's sword that will set this kingdom in perfect peace: but that the true way is, to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholesome laws against riots, and unlawful assemblies of people, and all combinations and confederacies of them, by liveries, tokens, and other badges of factious dependence; that the peace of the land may by these ordinances, as by bars of iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all force, both in court, country, and private houses, be supprest. The care hereof, which so much concerneth yourselves, and which the nature of the times doth instantly call for, his grace commends to your wisdoms.

"And because it is the king's desire, that this peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you leaves, for you to sit under the shade of them in safety; but also should bear you fruit of riches, wealth, and plenty: therefore his grace prays you to take into consideration matter of trade, as also the manufactures of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren employment of moneys to usury and unlawful exchanges; that they may be, as their natural use is, turned upon commerce, and lawful and royal trading. And likewise that our people be set on work in arts and handicrafts; that the realm may subsist more of itself; that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasure for foreign manufactures stopped. But you are not to rest here only, but to provide further, that

whatsoever merchandise shall be brought in from beyond the seas, may be employed upon the commodities of this land; whereby the kingdom's stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished by any over-trading of the foreigner.

"And lastly, because the king is well assured, that you would not have him poor, that wishes you rich; he doubteth not but that you will have care, as well to maintain his revenues of customs and all other natures, as also to supply him with your loving aids, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the king is a good husband, and but a steward in effect for the public; and that what comes from you, is but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud, and falls back upon the earth again. And you know well, how the kingdoms about you grow more and more in greatness, and the times are stirring; and therefore not fit to find the king with an empty purse. More I have not to say to you; and wish, that what hath been said, had been better expressed: but that your wisdoms and good affections will supply. God bless your doings."

It was no hard matter to dispose and affect the parliament in this business; as well in respect of the emulation between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy; as in regard of the danger to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns and havens, that might do mischief to the English, either by invasion, or by interruption of traffic. The parliament was also moved with the point of oppression; for although the French seemed to speak reason, yet arguments are ever with multitudes too weak for suspicions. Wherefore they did advise the king roundly to embrace the Britons' quarrel, and to send them speedy aids; and with much alacrity and forwardness granted to the king a great rate of subsidy, in contemplation of these aids. But the king, both to keep a decency towards the French king, to whom he profest himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to show war than to make it, sent new solemn ambassadors to intimate unto him the decree of his estates, and to iterate his motion, that the French would desist from hostility; or if war must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at the motion

of his people, who were sensible of the cause of the Britons as their ancient friends and confederates, he did send them succours; with protestation nevertheless, that, to save all treaties and laws of friendship, he had limited his forces, to proceed in aid of the Britons, but in no wise to war upon the French, otherwise than as they maintained the possession of Britain. But before this formal ambassage arrived, the party of the duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifest declaration. For near the town of St. Alban in Britain, a battle had been given, where the Britons were overthrown, and the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange taken prisoners, there being slain on the Britons' part six thousand men, and amongst them the Lord Woodvile, and almost all his soldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the French part, one thousand two hundred, with their leader, James Galeot, a great commander.

When the news of this battle came over into England, it was time for the king, who now had no subterfuge to continue farther treaty, and saw before his eyes that Britain went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes: knowing also that with his people, and foreigners both, he sustained no small envy and disreputation for his former delays, to despatch with all possible speed his succours into Britain; which he did under the conduct of Robert, Lord Brooke, to the number of eighty thousand choice men well armed; who having a fair wind, in few hours landed in Britain, and joined themselves forthwith to those Briton forces that remained after the defeat, and marched straight on to find the enemy, and encamped fast by them. The French wisely husbanding the possession of a victory, well acquainted with the courage of the English, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give battle. But meanwhile, to harass and weary the English, they did upon all advantages set upon them with their light horse; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the English archers.

But upon these achievements Francis, duke of Britain, deceased; an accident that the king might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckoned upon and provided for, but that the point of reputation, when news first came of the

battle lost, that somewhat must be done, did overbear the reason of war.

After the duke's decease, the principal persons of Britain, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confusion; so as the English not finding head or body with whom to join their forces, and being in jealousy of friends, as well as in danger of enemies, and the winter begun, returned home five months after their landing. So the battle of St. Alban, the death of the duke, and the retire of the English succours, were, after some time, the causes of the loss of that duchy; which action some accounted as a blemish of the king's judgment, but most but as the misfortune of his times.

But howsoever the temporary fruit of the parliament, in their aid and advice given for Britain, took not nor prospered not; yet the lasting fruit of parliament, which is good and wholesome laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For according to the lord chancellor's admonition, there were that parliament divers excellent laws ordained concerning the points which the king recommended.

First, the authority of the Star-chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of ordinary justice, besides the high court of Parliament, in which distribution the King's Bench holdeth the pleas of the crown, the Common Pleas pleas civil, the Exchequer pleas concerning the king's revenue, and the Chancery the pretorian power for mitigating the rigour of law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was, nevertheless, always reserved a high and pre-eminent power to the king's council in causes that might in example or consequence concern the state of the commonwealth, which if they were criminal the council used to sit in the chamber called the Star-chamber, if civil in the white-chamber or white-hall. And as the Chancery had the pretorian power for equity, so the Star-chamber had the censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This court of Star-chamber is compounded of good elements, for it consisteth of four kinds of persons—counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four

kinds of causes—forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons.

From the general peace of the country the king's care went on to the peace of the king's house, and the security of his great officers and counsellors. But this law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper. That if any of the king's servants under the degree of a lord do conspire the death of any of the king's council or lord of the realm, it is made capital. This law was thought to be procured by the lord chancellor, who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some mortal enemies in court, provided for his own safety, drowning the envy of it in a general law, by communicating the privilege with all other counsellors and peers, and yet not daring to extend it farther than to the king's servants in check-roll, lest it should have been too harsh to the gentlemen and other commons of the kingdom, who might have thought their ancient liberty and the clemency of the laws of England invaded, if the will in any case of felony should be made the deed. And yet the reason which the act yieldeth, that is to say, that he that conspireth the death of counsellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the death of the king himself, is indifferent to all subjects, as well as to servants in court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the lord chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a general law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the country as he was then to the court.

From the peace of the king's house the king's care extended to the peace of private houses and families. For there was an excellent moral law moulded thus: the taking and carrying away of women forcibly and against their will, except female-wards and bond-women, was made capital. The parliament wisely and justly conceiving that the obtaining of women by force into possession, howsoever afterwards assent might follow by allurements, was but a rape drawn forth in length, because the first force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another law for peace in general, and

repressing of murders and manslaughters, and was in amendment of the common laws of the realm, being this: That whereas by the common law the king's suit, in case of homicide, did expect the year and the day, allowed to the party's suit by way of appeal; and that it was found by experience that the party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the suit, so that in the end such suit was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby prosecution at the king's suit by indictment, which is ever best, *flagrante crimine*, neglected; it was ordained that the suit by indictment might be taken as well at any time within the year and the day, as after, not prejudicing nevertheless the party's suit.

The king began also then, as well in wisdom as in justice, to pare a little the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand, both because they might taste of some corporal punishment and that they might carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act's sake, the king himself was after branded, by Perkin's proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church.

Another law was made for the better peace of the country; by which law the king's officers and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds, in case of unlawful retainer, or partaking in routs and unlawful assemblies.

These were the laws that were made for repressing of force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politic laws that parliament, against usury, which is the bastard use of money; and against unlawful chievances and exchanges, which is bastard usury; and also for the security of the king's customs; and for the employment of the procedures of foreign commodities, brought in by merchant-strangers, upon the native commodities of the realm; together with some other laws of less importance.

But howsoever the laws made in that parliament did bear good and wholesome fruit; yet the subsidy granted at the same time bare a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the king's barn, but it was after a

storm. For when the commissioners entered into the taxation of the subsidy in Yorkshire, and the bishopric of Duresm; the people upon a sudden grew into great mutiny, and said openly, That they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the subsidy. This, no doubt, proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts; and if the vessel was but stirred, it would come up. And, no doubt, it was partly also by the instigation of some factious malecontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the commissioners being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter unto the earl of Northumberland, who was the principal man of authority in those parts. The earl forthwith wrote unto the court, signifying to the king plainly enough in what flame he found the people of those countries, and praying the king's direction. The king wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by parliament; both because it might encourage other countries to pray the like release or mitigation; and chiefly because he would never endure that the base multitude should frustrate the authority of the parliament, wherein their votes and consents were concluded. Upon this despatch from court, the earl assembled the principal justices and freeholders of the country; and speaking to them in that imperious language, wherein the king had written to him, which needed not, save that a harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man, did not only irritate the people, but make them conceive, by the stoutness and haughtiness of delivery of the king's errand, that himself was the author or principal persuader of that counsel; whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the earl in his house, slew him, and divers of his servants: and rested not there, but creating for their leader Sir John Egremond, a factious person, and one that had of a long time borne an ill talent towards the king; and being animated also by a base fellow, called John a Chamber, a very boutefeu, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entered into open

rebellion ; and gave out in flat terms, that they would go against King Henry, and fight with him for the maintenance of their liberties.

When the king was advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a fever that took him every year, after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent Thomas, earl of Surrey, whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to special favour, with a competent power against the rebels, who fought with the principal band of them, and defeated them, and took alive John a Chamber, their firebrand. As for Sir John Egremond, he fled into Flanders to the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king. John a Chamber was executed at York in great state ; for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gallows, as a traitor paramount ; and a number of his men that were his chief accomplices were hanged upon the lower story round about him ; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the king himself omit his custom, to be first or second in all his warlike exploits, making good his word, which was usual with him when he heard of rebels, that he desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the earl of Surrey, he marched towards them himself in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the victory, yet he went on as far as York, to pacify and settle those countries ; and that done, returned to London, leaving the earl of Surrey for his lieutenant in the northern parts, and Sir Richard Tunstal for his principal commissioner, to levy the subsidy, whereof he did not remit a denier.

About the same time that the king lost so good a servant as the earl of Northumberland, he lost likewise a faithful friend and ally of James the Third, king of Scotland, by a miserable disaster. For this unfortunate prince, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his nobility and people breaking forth at times into seditions and alterations of court, was at last distressed by them, having taken arms, and surprised the person of Prince James, his son, partly by force, partly by threats, that they would otherwise deliver up the kingdom to the king of England, to shadow their rebellion, and to be the titular and painted head of

those arms. Whereupon the king, finding himself too weak, sought unto King Henry, as also unto the pope, and the king of France, to compose those troubles between him and his subjects. The kings accordingly interposed their mediation in a round and princely manner: not only by way of request and persuasion, but also by way of protestation and menace; declaring, That they thought it to be the common cause of all kings, if subjects should be suffered to give laws unto their sovereign, and that they would accordingly resent it, and revenge it. But the rebels, that had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser tie of respect. And fury prevailing above fear, made answer, That there was no talking of peace, except the king would resign his crown. Whereupon treaty of accord taking no place, it came to a battle at Bannocksbourn by Strivelin: in which battle the king, transported with wrath and just indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was, notwithstanding the contrary express and strait commandment of the prince his son, slain in the pursuit, being fled to a mill, situate in a field, where the battle was fought.

As for the pope's ambassy, which was sent by Adrian de Castello, an Italian legate, and perhaps, as those times were, might have prevailed more, it came too late for the ambassy, but not for the ambassador. For passing through England and being honourably entertained, and received of King Henry, who ever applied himself with much respect to the see of Rome, he fell into great grace with the king, and great familiarity and friendship with Morton the chancellor: insomuch as the king taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind, preferred him to the bishopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells, and employed him in many of his affairs of state, that had relation to Rome. He was a man of great learning, wisdom, and dexterity in business of state; and having not long after ascended to the degree of cardinal, paid the king large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertisement of the occurrents of Italy. Nevertheless, in the end of his time, he was partaker of the conspiracy, which Cardinal Alphonso Petrucci and some other cardinals had plotted against the life of Pope Leo. And this offence, in

itself so heinous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof, which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the papacy. And in this height of impiety there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly; for that, as was generally believed, he was animated to expect the papacy by a fatal mockery, the prediction of a soothsayer, which was, "That one should succeed pope Leo, whose name should be Adrian, an aged man of mean birth, and of great learning and wisdom." By which character and figure he took himself to be described, though it were fulfilled of Adrian the Fleming, son of a Dutch brewer, cardinal of Tortosa, and preceptor unto Charles the Fifth; the same that, not changing his christian name, was afterwards called Adrian the sixth.

But these things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this king. But in the end of the fourth year the king had called again his parliament, not, as it seemeth, for any particular occasion of state: but the former parliament being ended somewhat suddenly, in regard of the preparation for Britain, the king thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good laws, which evermore was his retribution for treasure. And finding by the insurrection in the north, there was discontentment abroad, in respect of the subsidy, he thought it good to give his subjects yet farther contentment and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good commonwealth's laws did excel. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best lawgiver to this nation, after King Edward the First: for his laws, whoso marks them well, are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence of the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy; after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times.

First, therefore, he made a law, suitable to his own acts and times: for as himself had in his person and marriage made a final concord, in the great suit and title for the crown; so by this law he settled the like peace and quiet in the private possessions of the subjects: ordaining, "That fines thenceforth should be final, to conclude all strangers', rights;" and that upon fines levied and solemnly proclaimed the subject should have his time of watch for five years after

his title accrued; which if he forepassed, his right should be bound for ever after; with some exception nevertheless of minors, married women, and such incompetent persons.

This statute did in effect but restore an ancient statute of the realm, which was itself also made but in affirmance of the common law. The alteration had been by a statute, commonly called the statute of *non-claim*, made in the time of Edward the Third. And surely this law was a kind of prognostic of the good peace, which since his time hath, for the most part, continued in this kingdom until this day: for statutes of *non-claim* are fit for times of war, when men's heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their estate; but statutes that quiet possessions are fittest for times of peace, to extinguish suits and contentions, which is one of the banes of peace.

Another statute was made, of singular policy, for the population apparently, and, if it be thoroughly considered, for the soldiery and military forces of the realm.

Enclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land, which could not be manured without people and families, was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen; and tenances for years, lives, and at will, whereupon much of the yeomanry lived, were turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of people, and, by consequence, a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like. The king likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withal upon this a decay and diminution of subsidies and taxes; for the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience the king's wisdom was admirable, and the parliament's at that time. Enclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom; nor tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with nature and utility; but they took a course to take away depopulating enclosures and depopulating pasturage, and yet not by that name, or by any imperious express prohibition, but by consequence. The ordinance was, "That all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them;" and in no wise to be

severed from them, as by another statute, made afterwards in his successor's time, was more fully declared: this upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action, but by seizure of the land itself by the king and lords of the fee, as to half the profits, till the houses and lands were restored. By this means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants. Now, how much this did advance the military power of the kingdom, is apparent by the true principles of war and the examples of other kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general opinion of men of best judgment in the wars, howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of case, that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks and labourers, or else mere cottagers, which are but housed beggars, you may have a good cavalry, but never good stable bands of foot; like to coppice woods, that if you leave in them staddles too thick, they will run to bushes and briers, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be seen in France and Italy, and some other parts abroad, where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry, I speak of people out of towns, and no middle people; and therefore no good forces of foot: insomuch as they are enforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers, and the like, for their battalions of foot. Whereby also it comes to pass, that those nations have much people, and few soldiers. Whereas the king saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that England, though much less in territory, yet should have infinitely

more soldiers of their native forces than those other nations have. Thus did the king secretly sow Hydra's teeth; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of the kingdom.

The king also, having care to make his realm potent, as well by sea as by land, for the better maintenance of the navy, ordained, "That wines and woads from the parts of Gascoign and Languedoc should not be brought but in English bottoms;" bowing the ancient policy of this estate, from consideration of plenty to consideration of power. For that almost all the ancient statutes incite by all means merchant-strangers to bring in all sorts of commodities; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power.

The king also made a statute in that parliament, monitory and minatory towards justices of peace, that they should duly execute their office, inviting complaints against them, first to their fellow-justices, then to the justices of assize, then to the king or chancellor: and that a proclamation which he had published of that tenor should be read in open sessions four times a year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his laws executed, and thereby to reap either obedience or forfeitures, wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand, he did ordain remedy against the practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp informations upon penal laws, by procuring informations by collusion to be put in by the confederates of the delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure; and pleading them in bar of the informations, which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also laws for the correction of the mint, and counterfeiting of foreign coin current. And that no payment in gold should be made to any merchant-stranger, the better to keep treasure within the realm, for that gold was the metal that lay in the least room.

He made also statutes for the maintenance of drapery, and the keeping of wools within the realm; and not only so, but for stinting and limiting the prices of cloth, one for the finer, and another for the coarser sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by statute, especially upon our home commodities; and because of the wise model

of this act, not prescribing prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate; that the clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good statutes were made that parliament, but these were the principal. And here I do desire those into whose hands this work shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting upon the laws that were made in this king's reign. Whereof I have these reasons; both because it was the pre-eminent virtue and merit of this king to whose memory I do honour; and because it hath some correspondence to my person; but chiefly because, in my judgment, it is some defect even in the best writers of history, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most memorable laws that passed in the times whereof they writ, being indeed the principal acts of peace. For though they may be had in original books of law themselves; yet that informeth not the judgment of kings and counsellors, and persons of estate, so well as to see them described, and entered in the table and portrait of the times.

About the same time the king had a loan from the city of four thousand pounds; which was double to that they lent before, and was duly and orderly paid back at the day, as the former likewise had been: the king ever choosing rather to borrow too soon, than to pay too late, and so keeping up his credit.

Neither had the king yet cast off his cares and hopes touching Britain, but thought to master the occasion by policy, though his arms had been unfortunate; and to bereave the French king of the fruit of his victory. The sum of his design was, to encourage Maximilian to go on with his suit, for the marriage of Anne, the heir of Britain, and to aid him to the consummation thereof. But the affairs of Maximilian were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a rebellion of his subjects in Flanders; especially those of Bruges and Gaunt, whereof the town of Bruges, at such time as Maximilian was there in person, had suddenly armed in tumult, and slain some of his principal officers, and taken himself prisoner, and held him in durance, till they had enforced him and some of his counsellors, to take a solemn oath to pardon all their offences, and never to question and revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless Frederick the

emperor would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his son to pass, but made sharp wars upon Flanders, to reclaim and chastise the rebels. But the Lord Ravenstein, a principal person about Maximilian, and one that had taken the oath of abolition with his master, pretending the religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and, as it was thought, instigated and corrupted from France, forsook the emperor and Maximilian his lord, and made himself a head of the popular party, and seized upon the towns of Ipres and Sluice with both the castles: and forthwith sent to the Lord Cordes, governor of Picardy under the French king, to desire aid; and to move him, that he, on the behalf of the French king, would be protector of the united towns, and by force of arms reduce the rest. The Lord Cordes was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater forces than it had been possible for him to raise on the sudden, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aid of the Lord Ravenstein and the Flemings, with instructions to invest the towns between France and Bruges. The French forces besieged a little town called Dixmude, where part of the Flemish forces joined with them. While they lay at this siege, the king of England, upon pretence of the safety of the English pale about Calais, but in truth being loth that Maximilian should become contemptible, and thereby be shaken off by the states of Britain about this marriage, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men, under the Lord D'Aubigny, then deputy of Calais, with secret instructions to aid Maximilian, and to raise the siege of Dixmude. The Lord D'Aubigny, giving it out that all was for the strengthening of the English marches, drew out of the garrisons of Calais, Hammes, and Guines, to the number of a thousand men more. So that with the fresh succours that came under the conduct of the Lord Morley, they made up to the number of two thousand or better. Which forces joining with some companies of Almains, put themselves into Dixmude, not perceived by the enemies; and passing through the town, with some reinforcement from the forces that were in the town, assailed the enemies' camp negligently guarded, as being out of fear; where there was a bloody fight, in which the English and their partakers obtained the victory,

and slew to the number of eight thousand men, with the loss on the English part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord Morley. They took also their great ordnance, with much rich spoils, which they carried to Newport; whence the Lord D'Aubigny returned to Calais, leaving the hurt men and some other voluntaries in Newport. But the Lord Cordes being at Ipres with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loss and disgrace of the fight at Dixmude, came presently on, and sat down before Newport, and besieged it; and after some days' siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an assault. Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal tower and fort in that city, and planted upon it the French banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh succours of archers arriving by good fortune, at the instant, in the haven of Newport. Whereupon the Lord Cordes, discouraged, and measuring the new succours, which were small, by the success, which was great, levied his siege. By this means matters grew more exasperate between the two kings of England and France, for that, in the war of Flanders, the auxiliary forces of French and English were much blooded one against another. Which blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the Lord Cordes, that declared himself an open enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present service; making it a common by-word of his, "That he could be content to lie in hell seven years, so he might win Calais from the English."

The king having thus upheld the reputation of Maximilian, advised him now to press on his marriage with Britain to a conclusion. Which Maximilian accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed, both with the young lady and with the principal persons about her, as the marriage was consummated by proxy, with a ceremony at that time in these parts new. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated, as a bride, and solemnly bedded; and after she was laid, there came in Maximilian's ambassador with letters of procuration, and in the presence of sundry noble personages, men and women, put his leg, stripped naked to the knee, between the espousal sheets; to the end, that that ceremony might be thought to amount to a consummation and actual knowledge

This done, Maximilian, whose property was to leave things then when they were almost come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill archers, that draw not their arrows up to the head; and who might as easily have bedded the lady himself, as to have made a play and disguise of it, thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his farther proceeding, and intended his wars. Meanwhile the French king, consulting his divines, and finding that this pretended consummation was rather an invention of court, than any ways valid by the laws of the church, went more really to work, and by secret instruments and cunning agents, as well matrons about the young lady as counsellors, first sought to remove the point of religion and honour out of the mind of the lady herself, wherein there was a double labour. For Maximilian was not only contracted unto the lady, but Maximilian's daughter was likewise contracted to King Charles. So as the marriage halted upon both feet, and was not clear on either side. But for the contract with King Charles, the exception lay plain and fair; for that Maximilian's daughter was under years of consent, and so not bound by law, but a power of disagreement left to either part. But for the contract made by Maximilian with the lady herself, they were harder driven: having nothing to allege, but that it was done without the consent of her sovereign lord King Charles, whose ward and client she was, and he to her in place of a father: and therefore it was void and of no force for want of such consent. Which defect, they said, though it would not evacuate a marriage after cohabitation and actual consummation, yet it was enough to make void a contract. For as for the pretended consummation, they made sport with it, and said, "That it was an argument that Maximilian was a widower, and a cold wooer, that could content himself to be a bridegroom by deputy, and would not make a little journey to put all out of question." So that the young lady, wrought upon by these reasons, finely instilled by such as the French king, who spared for no rewards or promises, had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present glory and greatness of King Charles, being also a young king, and a bachelor, and loth to make her country the seat of a long and miserable war, secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this secret

treaty with the lady, the better to save it from blasts of opposition and interruption, King Charles resorting to his wonted arts, and thinking to carry the marriage as he had carried the wars, by entertaining the king of England in vain belief, sent a solemn ambassage by Francis Lord of Luxemburg, Charles Marignian, and Robert Gagvien, general of the order of the *Bons Hommes* of the Trinity, to treat a peace and league with the king; accoupling it with an article in the nature of a request, that the French king might with the king's good will, according unto his right of seigniory and tutelage, dispose of the marriage of the young duchess of Britain, as he should think good; offering by a judicial proceeding to make void the marriage of Maximilian by proxy. Also all this while, the better to amuse the world, he did continue in his court and custody the daughter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him, to be bred and educated in France; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly that he meant to proceed with that match. And that for the duchess of Britain, he desired only to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him.

When the three commissioners came to the court of England, they delivered their ambassage unto the king, who remitted them to his council, where some days after they had audience, and made their proposition by the prior of the Trinity, who though he were third in place, yet was held the best speaker of them, to this effect:—

"My lords, the king our master, the greatest and mightiest king that reigned in France since Charles the Great, whose name he beareth, hath nevertheless thought it no disparagement to his greatness at this time to propound a peace, yea, and to pray a peace with the king of England. For which purpose he hath sent us his commissioners, instructed and enabled with full and ample power to treat and conclude, giving us farther in charge, to open in some other business the secrets of his own intentions. These be indeed the precious love-tokens between great kings, to communicate one with another the true state of their affairs, and to pass by nice points of honour, which ought not to give law unto affection. This I do assure your lordship—it is not possible

for you to imagine the true and cordial love that the king our master beareth to your sovereign, except you were near him as we are. He useth his name with so great respect, he remembereth their first acquaintance at Paris with so great contentment, nay, he never speaks of him, but that presently he falls into discourse of the miseries of great kings, in that they cannot converse with their equals, but with servants. This affection to your king's person and virtues God hath put into the heart of our master, no doubt for the good of Christendom, and for purposes yet unknown to us all. For other root it cannot have, since it was the same to the earl of Richmond that it is now to the king of England. This is, therefore, the first motive that makes our king to desire peace and league with your sovereign—good affection, and somewhat that he finds in his own heart. This affection is also armed with reason of estate. For our king doth in all candour and frankness of dealing open him self unto you, that having an honourable, yea, and an holy purpose, to make a voyage and war in remote parts, he considereth that it will be of no small effect, in point of reputation to his enterprise, if it be known abroad that he is in good peace with all his neighbour princes, and especially with the king of England, whom for good causes he esteemeth most.

"But now, my lords, give me leave to use a few words to remove all scruples and misunderstanding between your sovereign and ours concerning some late actions, which if they be not cleared may perhaps hinder this peace. To the end that for matters past neither king may conceive unkindness of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindness of him. The late actions are two: that of Britain and that of Flanders. In both which it is true that the subjects' swords of both kings have encountered and stricken, and the ways and inclinations also of the two kings, in respect of their confederates and allies, have severed.

"For that of Britain, the king your sovereign knoweth best what hath passed. It was a war of necessity on our master's part. And though the motives of it were sharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that war rather with an olive branch than a laurel branch in his hand, more desiring peace than victory. Besides, from time to time he

sent, as it were, blank papers to your king to write the conditions of peace. For though both his honour and safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious to put into the king of England's hands. Neither doth our king on the other side make any unfriendly interpretation of your king's sending of succours to the duke of Britain; for the king knoweth well that many things must be done of kings for satisfaction of their people; and it is not hard to discern what is a king's own. But this matter of Britain is now, by the act of God, ended and passed; and, as the king hopeth, like the way of a ship in the sea, without leaving any impression in either of the kings' minds, as he is sure for his part it hath not done in his.

"For the action of Flanders, as the former of Britain was a war of necessity, so this was a war of justice, which with a good king is of equal necessity with danger of estate, for else he should leave to be a king. The subjects of Burgundy are subjects in chief to the crown of France, and their duke the homager and vassal of France. They had wont to be good subjects, howsoever Maximilian hath of late distempered them. They fled to the king for justice and deliverance from oppression. Justice he could not deny; purchase he did not seek. This was good for Maximilian, if he could have seen it in people mutinied, to arrest fury and prevent despair. My lords, it may be this I have said is needless, save that the king our master is tender in any thing that may but glance upon the friendship of England. The amity between the two kings, no doubt, stands entire and inviolate, and that their subjects' swords have clashed it is nothing unto the public peace of the crowns, it being a thing very usual in auxiliary forces of the best and straitest confederates to meet and draw blood in the field. Nay, many times there be aids of the same nation on both sides, and yet it is not, for all that, a kingdom divided in itself.

"It resteth, my lords, that I impart unto you a matter that I know your lordships all will much rejoice to hear, as that which importeth the Christian common-weal more than any action that hath happened of long time. The king our master hath a purpose and determination to make war upon the kingdom of Naples, being now in the possession of a bastard slip of Arragon, but appertaining unto his majesty

by clear and undoubted right, which if he should not by just arms seek to recover, he could neither acquit his honour nor answer it to his people. But his noble and Christian thoughts rest not here; for his resolution and hope is, to make the reconquest of Naples but as a bridge to transport his forces into Grecia, and not to spare blood or treasure, if it were to the impawning of his crown and dispeopling of France, till either he hath overthrown the empire of the Ottomans or taken it in his way to paradise. The king knoweth well that this is a design that could not arise in the mind of any king that did not steadfastly look up unto God, whose quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the will and the deed; but yet is agreeable to the person that he beareth, though unworthy, of the thrice Christian king and the eldest son of the Church. Whereunto he is also invited by the example, in more ancient time, of King Henry the Fourth of England, the first renowned king of the house of Lancaster, ancestor, though not progenitor to your king, who had a purpose, towards the end of his time, as you know better, to make an expedition into the Holy Land; and by the example also, present before his eyes, of that honourable and religious war which the king of Spain now maketh, and hath almost brought to perfection, for the recovery of the realm of Granada from the Moors. And although this enterprise may seem vast and unmeasured, for the king to attempt that by his own forces, wherein heretofore a conjunction of most of the Christian princes hath found work enough, yet his majesty wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller forces being united under one command are more effectual in proof, though not so promising in opinion and fame, than much greater forces, variously compounded by associations and leagues, which commonly in a short time after their beginnings turn to dissociations and divisions. But, my lords, that which is as a voice from heaven, that calleth the king to this enterprise, is a rent at this time in the house of the Ottomans. I do not say but there hath been brother against brother in that house before, but never any that had refuge to the arms of the Christians, as now hath Gemes, brother unto Bajazet that reigneth, the far braver man of the two, the other being between a monk and a philosopher, and better read in the Alcoran and Averroes, thar able to wield

the sceptre of so warlike an empire. This, therefore, is the king our master's memorable and heroical resolution for an holy war. And because he carrieth in this the person of a Christian soldier, as well as of a great temporal monarch, he beginneth with humility, and is content for this cause to beg peace at the hands of other Christian kings. There remaineth only rather a civil request than any essential part of our negotiation which the king maketh to the king your sovereign. The king, as all the world knoweth, is lord in chief of the duchy of Britain. The marriage of the heir belongeth to him as guardian. This is a private patrimonial right, and no business of estate; yet, nevertheless, to run a fair course with your king, whom he desires to make another himself, and to be one and the same thing with him, his request is, that with the king's favour and consent he may dispose of her in marriage as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended marriage of Maximilian, according to justice. This, my lords, is all that I have to say, desiring your pardon for my weakness in the delivery."

Thus did the French ambassadors with great show of their king's affection, and many sugared words, seek to addulce all matters between the two kings, having two things for their ends—the one to keep the king quiet till the marriage of Britain was past; and this was but a summer fruit, which they thought was almost ripe, and would be soon gathered. The other was more lasting, and that was to put him into such a temper as he might be no disturbance or impediment to the voyage for Italy. The lords of the council were silent, and said only, "That they knew the ambassadors would look for no answer till they had reported to the king," and so they rose from council. The king could not well tell what to think of the marriage of Britain. He saw plainly the ambition of the French king was to impatronize himself of the duchy; but he wondered he would bring into his house a litigious marriage, especially considering who was his successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave Britain for lost, but resolved to make his profit of this business of Britain as a quarrel for war, and that of Naples as a wrench and mean for peace, being well advertised how strongly the king was bent upon that action. Having, therefore, conferred divers times with his council, and keep-

ing himself somewhat close, he gave a direction to the chancellor for a formal answer to the ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his council. And after calling the chancellor to him apart, bade him speak in such language as was fit for a treaty that was to end in a breach; and gave him also a special caveat that he should not use any words to discourage the voyage of Italy. Soon after the ambassadors were sent for to the council, and the lord chancellor spake to them in this sort:—

"My lords ambassadors, I shall make answer, by the king's commandment, unto the eloquent declaration of you, my lord prior, in a brief and plain manner. The king forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the king your master: but of this there needeth no repetition. For if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any alteration, it is not words that will make it up.

"For the business of Britain, the king findeth it a little strange that the French king maketh mention of it as a matter of well deserving at his hand: for that deserving was no more but to make him his instrument to surprise one of his best confederates. And for the marriage, the king would not meddle with it, if your master would marry by the book and not by the sword.

"For that of Flanders, if the subjects of Burgundy had appealed to your king as their chief lord, at first by way of supplication, it might have had a show of justice: but it was a new form of process, for subjects to imprison their prince first, and to slay his officers, and then to be complainants. The king saith, that sure he is, when the French king and himself sent to the subjects of Scotland, that had taken arms against their king, they both spake in another style, and did in princely manner signify their detestation of popular attentates upon the person or authority of princes. But, my lords ambassadors, the king leaveth these two actions thus: that on the one side he hath not received any manner of satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them to refuse to treat of peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the war of Naples, and the design against the Turk: the king hath commanded me expressly to say, that he doth wish with all his heart to his good brother the

French king, that his fortunes may succeed according to his hopes and honourable intentions. And whensoever he shall hear that he is prepared for Grecia, as your master is pleased now to say that he beggeth a peace of the king, so the king will then beg of him a part in that war.

"But now, my lords ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the king's part: the king your master hath taught our king what to say and demand. You say, my lord prior, that your king is resolved to recover his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his honour, nor answer it to his people. Think, my lords, that the king our master saith the same thing over again to you touching Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, yea, and the kingdom of France itself. I cannot express it better than in your own words. If, therefore, the French king shall consent that the king our master's title to France, at least tribute for the same, be handled in the treaty, the king is content to go on with the rest, otherwise he refuseth to treat."

The ambassadors, being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heat: That they doubted not, but the king their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre: and they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the crown of France either in territory or regality: but, howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no commission. It was replied, that the king looked for no other answer from them, but would forthwith send his own ambassadors to the French king. There was a question also asked at the table—whether the French king would agree to have the disposing of the marriage of Britain with an exception and exclusion, that he should not marry her himself? To which the ambassadors answered; That it was so far out of their king's thoughts, as they had received no instructions touching the same. Thus were the ambassadors dismissed, all save the prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas, earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston, prior of Christ-Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space, Lionel, bishop of Concordia, was sent as nuncio from Pope Alexander the Sixth to both kings, to move a peace between them. For Pope Alexander,

finding himself pent and locked up by a league and association of the principal states of Italy, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own house, which he immoderately thirsted after, was desirous to trouble the waters in Italy, that he might fish the better; casting the net, not out of St. Peter's, but out of Borgia's bark. And doubting lest the fears from England might stay the French king's voyage into Italy, despatched this bishop to compose all matters between the two kings, if he could: who first repaired to the French king, and finding him well inclined, as he conceived, took on his journey towards England, and found the English ambassadors at Calais, on their way towards the French king. After some conference with them, he was in honourable manner transported over into England, where he had audience of the king. But notwithstanding he had a good ominous name to have made a peace, nothing followed: for in the mean time the purpose of the French king to marry the duchess could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the English ambassadors, finding how things went, took their leave, and returned. And the prior also was warned from hence to depart out of England. Who, when he turned his back, more like a pedant than an ambassador, dispersed a bitter libel, in Latin verse, against the king; unto which the king, though he had nothing of a pedant, yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like verse; and that as speaking in his own person, but in a style of scorn and sport. About this time also was born the king's second son Henry, who afterwards reigned. And soon after followed the solemnization of the marriage between Charles and Anne, duchess of Britain, with whom he received the duchy of Britain as her dowry, the daughter of Maximilian being a little before sent home. Which, when it came to the ears of Maximilian, who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the principal in deceiving himself, though in this the French king did very handsomely second it, in tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he should at one blow, with such a double scorn, be defeated, both of the marriage of his daughter and his own, upon both which he had fixed high imaginations, he lost all patience, and casting off the respects fit to be continued between great kings, even when their blood is hottest, and most risen, fell

to bitter invectives against the person and actions of the French king. And, by how much he was the less able to do talking so much the more, spake all the injuries he could devise of Charles, saying: That he was the most perfidious man upon the earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an advowtry and a rape; which was done, he said, by the just judgment of God; to the end that, the nullity thereof being so apparent to all the world, the race of so unworthy a person might not reign in France. And forthwith he sent ambassadors as well to the king of England, as to the king of Spain, to incite them to war, and to treat a league offensive against France, promising to concur with great forces of his own. Hereupon the king of England, going nevertheless his own way, called a parliament, it being the seventh year of his reign; and the first day of the opening thereof, sitting under his cloth of estate, spake himself unto his lords and commons in this manner:—

"My lords, and you the commons, when I purposed to make a war in Britain, by my lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my chancellor. But now that I mean to make a war upon France in person, I will declare it to you myself. That war was to defend another man's right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by accident, but we hope this shall end in victory.

"The French king troubles the Christian world: that which he hath is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Britain: he maintaineth the rebels in Flanders: and he threateneth Italy. For ourselves, he hath proceeded from dissimulation to neglect; and from neglect to contumely. He hath assailed our confederates: he denieth our tribute: in a word, he seeks war: so did not his father, but sought peace at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good counsel or time shall make him see as much as his father did.

"Meanwhile, let us make his ambition our advantage; and let us not stand upon a few crowns of tribute or acknowledgement, but, by the favour of Almighty God, try our right for the crown of France itself; remembering that there hath been a French king prisoner in England, and a king of England crowned in France. Our confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier hand than ever, and

never more provoked. Britain cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New acquests are more burden than strength. The malecontents of his own kingdom have not been base, popular, nor titulary impostors, but of a higher nature. The king of Spain, doubt ye not, will join with us, not knowing where the French king's ambition will stay. Our holy father the pope likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter of confederates is rather to be thought on than reckoned on. For God forbid but England should be able to get reason of France without a second.

"At the battles of Cressy, Poictiers, Agincourt, we were of ourselves. France hath much people, and few soldiers. They have no stable bands of foot. Some good horse they have; but those are forces which are least fit for a defensive war, where the actions are in the assailant's choice. It was our discords only that lost France; and, by the power of God, it is the good peace which we now enjoy that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my sword. I have, in this time that I have reigned, weeded out my bad subjects, and tried my good. My people and I know one another, which breeds confidence: and if there should be any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honourable foreign war will vent it or purify it. In this great business let me have your advice and aid. If any of you were to make his son knight, you might have aid of your tenants by law. This concerns the knighthood and spurs of the kingdom, whereof I am father; and bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it: but for matter of treasure let it not be taken from the poorest sort, but from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound. France is no wilderness; and I, that profess good husbandry, hope to make the war, after the beginnings, to pay itself. Go together in God's name, and lose no time: for I have called this parliament wholly for this cause."

Thus spake the king; but for all this, though he showed great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise, except the two bishops and a few more, yet nevertheless in his secret intentions he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war, to make his return in money. He knew well that France was now entire and at unity with itself, and never so

mighty many years before. He saw by the taste that he had of his forces sent into Britain, that the French knew well enough how to make war with the English, by not putting things to the hazard of a battle, but wearing them by long sieges of towns, and strong fortified encampings. James the Third of Scotland, his true friend and confederate, gone; and James the Fourth, that had succeeded, wholly at the devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the conjunctions of Ferdinando of Spain and Maximilian, he could make no foundation upon them. For the one had power, and not will; and the other had will, and not power. Besides that, Ferdinando had but newly taken breath from the war with the Moors; and merchanted at this time with France for the restoring of the counties of Russignon and Perpignian, oppignorated to the French. Neither was he out of fear of the discontents and ill blood within the realm; which having used always to repress and appease in person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond sea, and engaged in war. Finding therefore the inconveniences and difficulties in the prosecution of a war, he cast with himself how to compass two things. The one, how by the declaration and inchoation of a war to make his profit. The other, how to come off from the war with the saving of his honour. For profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace; like a good merchant, that maketh his gain both upon the commodities exported, and imported back again. For the point of honour, wherein he might suffer for giving over the war, he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maximilian for supports of war, so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occasions to accept of peace. These things he did wisely foresee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap as he desired.

For as for the parliament, it presently took fire, being affectionate, of old, to the war of France; and desirous afresh to repair the dishonour they thought the king sustained by the loss of Britain. Therefore they advised the king, with great alacrity, to undertake the war of France. And although the parliament consisted of the first and second nobility, together with principal citizens and townsmen, yet

worthily and justly respecting more the people, whose deputies they were, than their own private persons, and finding by the lord chancellor's speech the king's inclination that way, they consented that commissioners should go forth for the gathering and levying of a benevolence from the more able sort. This tax, called a benevolence, was devised by Edward the Fourth, for which he sustained much envy. It was abolished by Richard the Third by act of parliament, to ingratiate himself with the people; and it was now revived by the king, but with consent of parliament, for so it was not in the time of King Edward the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great sums. Insomuch as the City of London, in those days, contributed nine thousand pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a tradition of a *dilemma*, that bishop Morton the chancellor used, to raise up the benevolence to higher rates; and some called it his fork, and some his crotch. For he had couched an article in the instructions to the commissioners who were to levy the benevolence; "That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, that they must needs have, because they laid up: and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living." So neither kind came amiss.

This parliament was merely a parliament of war; for it was in substance but a declaration of war against France and Scotland, with some statutes conducing thereunto: as the severe punishment of mort-pays, and keeping back of soldiers' wages in captains; the like severity for the departure of soldiers without licence; strengthening of the common law in favour of protections for those that were in the king's service; and the setting the gate open or wide for men to sell or mortgage their lands, without fines for alienation, to furnish themselves with money for the war; and lastly, the voiding of all Scottish men out of England. There was also a statute for the dispersing of the standard of the exchequer throughout England; thereby to size weights and measures; and two or three more of less importance.

After the parliament was broken up, which lasted not long, the king went on with his preparations for the war of France; yet neglected not in the mean time the affairs of

Maximilian for the quieting of Flanders, and restoring him to his authority amongst his subjects. For at that time the lord of Ravenstein, being not only a subject rebelled, but a servant revolted, and so much the more malicious and violent, by the aid of Bruges and Gaunt, had taken the town and both the castles of Sluice, as we said before: and having, by the commodity of the haven, gotten together certain ships and barks, fell to a kind of piratical trade; robbing and spoiling, and taking prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations, and passed along the coast towards the mart of Antwerp, or into any part of Brabant, Zealand, or Friezeland; being ever well victualled from Picardy, besides the commodity of victuals from Sluice, and the country adjacent, and the avails of his own prizes. The French assisted him still underhand; and he likewise, as all men do that have been of both sides, thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third person.

There was a small town some two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam; which was a fort and approach to Bruges, and had a relation also to Sluice.

This town the king of the Romans had attempted often, not for any worth of the town in itself, but because it might choke Bruges, and cut it off from the sea, and ever failed. But therewith the duke of Saxony came down into Flanders, taking upon him the person of an umpire, to compose things between Maximilian and his subjects; but being, indeed, fast and assured to Maximilian. Upon this pretext of neutrality and treaty, he repaired to Bruges; desiring of the states of Bruges, to enter peaceably into their town, with a retinue of some number of men of arms fit for his estate; being somewhat the more, as he said, the better to guard him in a country that was up in arms: and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance for their good. Which having obtained of them, he sent his carriages and harbingers before him, to provide his lodging. So that his men of war entered the city in good array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before inquired still for inns and lodgings, as if they would have rested there all night; and so went on till they came to the gate that leadeth directly towards Dam: and they of Bruges only gazed upon them, and gave them

passage. The captains and inhabitants of Dam also suspected no harm from any that passed through Bruges; and discovering forces afar off, supposed they had been some succours that were come from their friends, knowing some dangers towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well till it was too late, suffered them to enter their town. By which kind of slight, rather than stratagem, the town of Dam was taken, and the town of Bruges shrewdly blocked up, whereby they took great discouragement.

The duke of Saxony, having won the town of Dam, sent immediately to the king to let him know, that it was Sluice chiefly, and the Lord Ravenstein that kept the rebellion of Flanders in life: and that if it pleased the king to besiege it by sea, he also would besiege it by land, and so cut out the core of those wars.

The king, willing to uphold the authority of Maximilian, the better to hold France in awe, and being likewise sued unto by his merchants, for that the seas were much infested by the barks of the Lord Ravenstein, sent straightways Sir Edward Poynings, a valiant man, and of good service, with twelve ships, well furnished with soldiers and artillery, to clear the seas, and to besiege Sluice on that part. The Englishmen did not only coop up the Lord Ravenstein, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait siege the maritime part of the town, but also assailed one of the castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty days' space, issuing still out of their ships at the ebb, as they made great slaughter of them of the castle; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the English part also were slain a brother of the Earl of Oxford's, and some fifty more.

But the siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the castles, which were the principal strength of the town, being distressed, the one by the duke of Saxony and the other by the English; and a bridge of boats, which the lord of Ravenstein had made between both castles, whereby succours and relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the English; he despairing to hold the town, yielded at the last the castles to the English, and the town to the duke of Saxony by composition. Which done, the duke of Saxony and Sir Edward Poynings treated with them of Bruges, to submit themselves to Maximilian

their lord, which after some time they did, paying in some good part the charge of the war, whereby the Almains and foreign succours were dismissed. The example of Bruges other of the revolted towns followed, so that Maximilian grew to be out of danger, but, as his manner was to handle matters, never out of necessity. And Sir Edward Poynings, after he had continued at Sluice some good while till all things were settled, returned unto the king, being then before Boloign.

Somewhat about this time came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, signifying the final conquest of Granada from the Moors, which action, in itself so worthy, king Ferdinando, whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the showing, had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom, showing amongst other things that the king would not by any means in person enter the city, until he had at first aloof seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground. That likewise, before he would enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by a herald from the height of that tower that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous apostle Saint James, and the holy father Innocent the Eighth, together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons. That yet he stirred not from his camp till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians, that had lived in bonds and servitude as slaves to the Moors, pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption, and that he had given tribute unto God by alms and relief extended to them all for his admission into the city. These things were in the letters, with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation.

The king, ever willing to put himself into the consort or choir of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the king of Spain, as far as one king can affect another, partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpoise to France, upon the receipt of these letters sent all his nobles and prelates that were about the court, together with the

mayor and aldermen of London, in great solemnity to the church of Paul, there to hear a declaration from the lord chancellor, now cardinal. When they were assembled, the cardinal, standing upon the uppermost step, or half-pace, before the choir, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the city at the foot of the stairs, made a speech to them, letting them know that they were assembled in that consecrated place to sing unto God a new song. For that, said he, these many years the Christians have not gained new ground or territory upon the infidels, nor enlarged and set farther the bounds of the Christian world. But this is now done by the prowess and devotion of Ferdinando and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, who have, to their immortal honour, recovered the great and rich kingdom of Granada and the populous and mighty city of the same name from the Moors, having been in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred years and more; for which this assembly and all Christians are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of the king of Spain, who in this is not only victorious but apostolical, in the gaining of new provinces to the Christian faith. And the rather for that this victory and conquest is obtained without much effusion of blood; whereby it is to be hoped that there shall be gained not only new territory, but infinite souls to the Church of Christ, whom the Almighty, as it seems, would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory. And after his speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and *Te Deum* was sung.

Immediately after the solemnity, the king kept his May-day at his palace of Shene, now Richmond; where, to warm the blood of his nobility and gallants against the war, he kept great triumphs of jousting and tourney during all that month. In which space it so fell out that Sir James Parker and Hugh Vaughan, one of the king's gentlemen ushers, having had a controversy touching certain arms that the king-at-arms had given Vaughan, were appointed to run some courses one against another. And by accident of a faulty helmet that Parker had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died pre-

sently upon the place. Which, because of the controversy precedent and the death that followed, was accounted amongst the vulgar as a combat or trial of right. The king, towards the end of this summer, having put his forces wherewith he meant to invade France in readiness, but so as they were not yet met or mustered together, sent Urswick, now made his almoner, and Sir John Risley, to Maximilian, to let him know that he was in arms, ready to pass the seas into France, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to join with him, according to his promise made unto him by Countebalt, his ambassador.

The English ambassadors having repaired to Maximilian, did find his power and promise at a very great distance, he being utterly unprovided of men, money, and arms for any such enterprise. For Maximilian, having neither wing to fly on, for that his patrimony of Austria was not in his hands, his father being then living, and on the other side his matrimonial territories of Flanders being partly in dowry to his mother-in-law, and partly not serviceable in respect of the late rebellions, was thereby destitute of means to enter into war. The ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the king thereof, rather than to return themselves, till the king's farther pleasure were known; the rather for that Maximilian himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory answers, so as the formal part of their ambassage might well warrant and require their farther stay. The king hereupon, who doubted as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning, wrote back to the ambassadors, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the state wherein they found Maximilian as a secret, till they heard farther from him; and meanwhile went on with his voyage royal for France, suppressing for a time this advertisement touching Maximilian's poverty and disability.

But this time was drawn together a great and puissant army into the city of London, in which were Thomas marquis Dorset, Thomas earl of Arundel, Thomas earl of Derby, George earl of Shrewsbury, Edmond earl of Suffolk, Edward earl of Devonshire, George earl of Kent, the earl of Essex, Thomas earl of Ormond, with a great number of barons, knights, and principal gentlemen, and amongst them Richard

Thomas, much noted for the brave troops that he brought out of Wales. The army rising in the whole to the number of five-and-twenty thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, over which the king, constant in his accustomed trust and employment, made Jasper duke of Bedford and John earl of Oxford generals under his own person. The ninth of September, in the eighth year of his reign, he departed from Greenwich towards the sea, all men wondering that he took that season, being so near winter, to begin the war, and some thereupon gathering it was a sign that the war would not be long. Nevertheless the king gave out the contrary, thus:— "That he intending not to make a summer business of it, but a resolute war, without term prefixed, until he had recovered France, it skilled not much when he began it, especially having Calais at his back, where he might winter if the season of the war so required." The sixth of October he embarked at Sandwich, and the same day took land at Calais, which was the rendezvous where all his forces were assigned to meet. But in this his journey towards the seaside, wherein, for the cause that we shall now speak of, he hovered so much the longer, he had received letters from the Lord Cordes, who the hotter he was against the English in time of war, had the more credit in a negotiation of peace, and besides, was held a man open and of good faith. In which letters there was made an overture of peace from the French king, with such conditions as were somewhat to the king's taste; but this was carried at the first with wonderful secrecy. The king was no sooner come to Calais but the calm winds of peace began to blow. For first, the English ambassadors returned out of Flanders from Maximilian, and certified the king that he was not to hope for any aid from Maximilian, for that he was altogether unprovided. His will was good, but he lacked money. And this was made known and spread through the army. And although the English were therewithal nothing dismayed, and that it be the manner of soldiers upon bad news to speak the more bravely; yet nevertheless it was a kind of preparative to a peace. Instantly in the neck of this, as the king had laid it, came news that Ferdinando and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, had concluded a peace with King Charles, and that Charles had restored unto them the counties of Russignon and Perpig-

nian, which formerly were mortgaged by John, king of Arragon, Ferdinando's father, unto France for three hundred thousand crowns, which debt was also upon this peace by Charles clearly released. This came also handsomely to put on the peace, both because so potent a confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair example of a peace bought, so as the king should not be the sole merchant in this peace. Upon these airs of peace the king was content that the bishop of Exeter and the Lord d'Aubigny, governor of Calais, should give a meeting unto the Lord Cordes, for the treaty of a peace. But himself, nevertheless, and his army, the fifteenth of October, removed from Calais, and in four days' march sat him down before Boloign.

During this siege of Boloign, which continued near a month, there passed no memorable action nor accident of war; only Sir John Savage, a valiant captain, was slain, riding about the walls of the town to take a view. The town was both well fortified and well manned, yet it was distressed and ready for an assault; which, if it had been given, as was thought, would have cost much blood, but yet the town would have been carried in the end. Meanwhile a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for both the kings' lives. Where there was no article of importance, being in effect rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the king seven hundred and forty-five thousand ducats in present, for his charges in that journey; and five-and-twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aid of the Britons. For which annual, though he had Maximilian bound before for those charges, yet he counted the alteration of the hand as much as the principal debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely when it should determine or expire, which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the king and to his son King Henry the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was also assigned by the French king, unto all the king's principal counsellors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present; which, whether the king did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business, that was displeasing to his people,

was diversely interpreted. For certainly the king had no great fancy to own this peace. And, therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a peace, under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication. But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings:—To Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Britain, and freed the enterprise of Naples; to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say, "That the king cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself." And some made themselves merry with that the king had said in Parliament, "That after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itself," saying, he had kept promise.

Having risen from Boloign he went to Calais, where he stayed some time. From whence also he wrote letters, which was a courtesy that he sometimes used, to the mayor of London, and the aldermen his brethren, half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace, knowing well that full coffers of the king is ever good news to London. And better news it would have been, if their benevolence had been but a loan. And upon the seventeenth of December following he returned to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas.

Soon after the king's return, he sent the Order of the Garter to Alphonso, duke of Calabria, eldest son to Ferdinando, king of Naples, an honour sought by that prince to hold him up in the eyes of the Italians, who, expecting the arms of Charles, made great account of the amity of England for a bridle to France. It was received by Alphonso with all the ceremony and pomp that could be devised, as things used to be carried that are intended for opinion. It was sent by Urswick, upon whom the king bestowed this ambassage to help him after many dry employments.

At this time the king began again to be haunted with spirits, by the magic and curious arts of the Lady Margaret,

who raised up the ghost of Richard, duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth, to walk and vex the king. This was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnel, better done and worn upon greater hands, being graced after with the wearing of a king of France and a king of Scotland, not of a duchess of Burgundy only. And for Simnel there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth, of whom we are now to speak, was such a mercurial, as the like hath seldom been known, and could make his own part if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore this being one of the strangest examples of a personation that ever was in elder or later times, it deserveth to be discovered and related at the full; although the king's manner of showing things by pieces, and by dark lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery to this day.

The Lady Margaret, whom the king's friends called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief, for a foundation of her particular practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying opinion, that Richard, duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth, was not murdered in the Tower, as was given out, but saved alive. For that those who were employed in that barbarous fact, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad, thinking that this fame and belief, together with the fresh example of Lambert Simnel, would draw at one time or other some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a farther diligence, not committing all to chance; for she had some secret espials, like to the Turks' commissioners for children of tribute, to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets and dukes of York. At the last she did light on one in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn for a counterfeit of Richard, duke of York.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For first, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a youth of fine favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to

move pity, and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or, as the king called him, such a landloper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his nest and parents. Neither again could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a circumstance, which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time, that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter—which is, that King Edward the Fourth was his godfather. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip in so mean a house, and might make a man think that he might indeed have in him some base blood of the house of York; so at the least, though that were not, it might give the occasion to the boy, in being called King Edward's godson, or perhaps in sport King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts into his head. For tutor he had none, for ought that appears, as Lambert Simnel had, until he came unto the Lady Margaret, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to pass:—There was a townsman of Tournay, that had borne office in that town, whose name was John Osbeck, a convert Jew, married to Catherine de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time with his wife at London in King Edward the Fourth's days; during which time he had a son by her, and being known in court, the king, either out of religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to be godfather to his child, and named him Peter. But afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin, or Perkin. For as for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his true name of Osbeck was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp, and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders, for a good time; living much in English company, and having the English

tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of the espials of the Lady Margaret into her presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a face and personage that would bear a noble fortune; and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour; thought she had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of the duke of York. She kept him by her a great while, but with extreme secrecy. The while she instructed him by many cabinet conferences. First, in princely behaviour and gesture; teaching him how he should keep state, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of Richard, duke of York, which he was to act; describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the king and queen his pretended parents; and of his brother and sisters, and divers others, that were nearest him in his childhood; together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time from the king's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape, she knew they were things that a very few could control; and therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters, warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what account he should give of his peregrination abroad, intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the credit of the rest; but still making them to hang together with the part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions, which were like to be asked of him. But in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own wit and readiness; and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and farther promises; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown if things went well, and a sure refuge to her court, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson,

she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the horizon of Ireland; for there had the like meteor strong influence before. The time of the apparition to be, when the king should be engaged into a war with France. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe, for that the two kings were then upon terms of peace. Therefore she wheeled about; and to put all suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her, for that she knew secrets are not long-lived, she sent him unknown into Portugal with the Lady Brampton, an English lady, that embarked for Portugal at that time, with some *privado* of her own, to have an eye upon him; and there he was to remain, and to expect her farther directions. In the mean time she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome and accepting, not only in the kingdom of Ireland, but in the court of France. He continued in Portugal about a year; and by that time the king of England called his parliament, as hath been said, and declared open war against France. Now did the sign reign, and the constellation was come, under which Perkin should appear. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the duchess to go for Ireland, according to the first designment. In Ireland he did arrive at the town of Cork. When he was thither come, his own tale was, when he made his confession afterwards, that the Irishmen, finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down that he was the duke of Clarence that had been there before. And after that he was Richard the Third's base son. And lastly, that he was Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward the Fourth. But that he, for his part, renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the holy evangelists, that he was no such man; till at last they forced it upon him, and bad him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the said person of the duke of York, and drew unto him complices and partakers by all the means he could devise. Insomuch as he wrote his letters ... to the earls of

Desmond and Kildare, to come in to his aid, and be of his party; the originals of which letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the duchess had also gained unto her a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue; an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles, the French king, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the king. Now King Charles, when he understood of the person and attempts of Perkin, ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the king of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the Lady Margaret, forthwith despatched one Lucas and this Frion, in the nature of ambassadors to Perkin, to advertise him of the king's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to aid him to recover his right against King Henry, an usurper of England, and an enemy of France; and wished him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought himself in heaven now that he was invited by so great a king in so honourable a manner; and imparting unto his friends in Ireland for their encouragement, how fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed presently into France. When he was come to the court of France, the king received him with great honour; saluted, and styled him by the name of the duke of York; lodged him, and accommodated him in great state. And the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a prince, assigned him a guard for his person, whereof the Lord Congresall was captain. The courtiers likewise, though it be ill mocking with the French, applied themselves to their king's bent, seeing there was reason of state for it. At the same time there repaired unto Perkin divers Englishmen of quality: Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and about one hundred more; and amongst the rest, this Stephen Frion, of whom we spake, who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal counsellor and instrument in all his proceedings. But all this on the French king's part was but a trick, the better to bow King Henry to peace. And therefore upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Boloign, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French king deliver him up to King Henry, as he was

laboured to do, for his honour's sake, but warned him away and dismissed him. And Perkin, on his part, was as ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into Flanders, unto the duchess of Burgundy; pretending that having been variously tossed by fortune, he directed his course thither as to a safe harbour: no ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The duchess, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him; pretending, at the first, that she was taught and made wise by the example of Lambert Simnel, how she did admit of any counterfeit stuff; though even in that, she said, she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first, and that was ever in the presence of others, to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very duke of York or no. But seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, she then feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him as if he were risen from death to life; and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. As for his dismission out of France, they interpreted it, not as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver, but contrariwise, that it did show manifestly unto the world, that he was some great matter; for that it was his abandoning that, in effect, made the peace; being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed prince unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin, for his part, wanting to himself, either in gracious or princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself; insomuch as it was generally believed, as well amongst great persons as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continued counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be; and from a liar to a believer. The duchess, therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her

nephew, and giving him the delicate title of the White Rose of England: and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the duke of York; that he had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in Flanders. These fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent; in some upon ambition; in some upon levity and desire of change; in some few upon conscience and belief; but in most upon simplicity; and in divers out of dependence upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the king and his government, taxing him for a great taxer of his people, and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Britain, and the peace with France, were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his queen, in that he did not reign in her right. Wherefore they said that God had now brought to light a masculine branch of the house of York, that would not be at his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. And yet, as it fareth in the things which are current with the multitude, and which they affect, these fames grew so general, as the authors were lost in the generality of speakers. They being like running weeds that have no certain root; or like footings up and down, impossible to be traced; but after a while these ill humours drew to a head, and settled secretly in some eminent persons—which were, Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain of the king's household, the Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour Duke Richard's title. Nevertheless none engaged their fortunes in this business openly, but two, Sir Robert Clifford and Master William Barley, who sailed over into Flanders, sent indeed from the party of the conspirators here, to understand

the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of moneys from hence; provisionally to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir Robert Clifford, being a gentleman of fame and family, was extremely welcome to the Lady Margaret; who, after she had conference with him, brought him to the sight of Perkin, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that, in the end, won either by the duchess to affect, or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the person of Richard, duke of York, as well as he knew his own, and that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to have a correspondence between Flanders and England.

The king on his part was not asleep; but to arm or levy forces yet, he thought would but show fear, and do this idol too much worship. Nevertheless the ports he did shut up, or at least kept a watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected; but for the rest, he chose to work by countermine. His purposes were two: the one, to lay open the abuse; the other, to break the knot of the conspirators. To detect the abuse, there were but two ways: the first, to make it manifest to the world that the duke of York was indeed murdered; the other, to prove that were he dead or alive, yet Perkin was a counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the duke of York: Sir James Tirrel, the employed man from King Richard, John Dighton and Miles Forrest, his servants, the two butchers or tormentors, and the priest of the Tower, that buried them; of which four Miles Forrest and the priest were dead, and there remained alive only Sir James Tirrel and John Dighton. These two the king caused to be committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two innocent princes. They agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out, to this effect: that King Richard having directed his warrant for the putting of them to death to Brackenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused; whereupon the king directed his warrant to Sir James Tirrel, to receive the keys of the Tower from the lieutenant, for the

space of a night, for the king's special service. That Sir James Tirrel accordingly repaired to the Tower by night, attended by his two servants aforenamed, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at the stair-foot, and sent these two villains to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed; and, that done, called up their master to see their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the stairs, and some stones cast upon them. That when the report was made to King Richard, that his will was done, he gave Sir James Tirrel great thanks, but took exception to the place of their burial, being too base for them that were king's children; whereupon, another night, by the king's warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower, and buried by him in some place, which, by means of the priest's death soon after, could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those examinations; but the king, nevertheless, made no use of them in any of his declarations; whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James Tirrel, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower-yard for other matters of treason. But John Dighton, who, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left so naked, the king used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of Perkin. To this purpose he sent abroad into several parts, and especially into Flanders, divers secret and nimble scouts and spies, some feigning themselves to fly over unto Perkin, and to adhere unto him; and some under other pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of Perkin's parents, birth, person, travels up and down; and in brief, to have a journal, as it were, of his life and doings. He furnished these his employed men liberally with money to draw on and reward intelligences; giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one advertisement and discovery called up another, he employed other new men, where the business did require it. Others he employed in a more special nature and trust, to be his pioneers in the main countermine. These were di-

rected to insinuate themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the principal persons of the party in Flanders, and so to learn what associates they had, and correspondents, either here in England, or abroad; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try or board. And as this for the persons, so for the actions themselves, to discover to the bottom, as they could, the utmost of Perkin's and the conspirators', their intentions, hopes, and practices. These latter best-be-trust spies had some of them farther instructions, to practise and draw off the best friends and servants of Perkin, by making remonstrance to them, how weakly his enterprise and hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a king they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the king, with promise of pardon and good conditions of reward. And, above the rest, to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir Robert Clifford; and to win him, if they could, being the man that knew most of their secrets, and who, being won away, would most appal and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the knot.

There is a strange tradition, that the king, being lost in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men; and for the better credit of his espials abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at Paul's, by name, amongst the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the custom of those times. These espials plied their charge so roundly, as the king had an anatomy of Perkin alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent conspirators in England, and many other mysteries were revealed; and Sir Robert Clifford, in especial, won to be assured to the king, and industrious and officious for his service. The king, therefore, receiving a rich return of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of particulars, first divulged and spread abroad the imposture and juggling of Perkin's person and travels, with the circumstances thereof, throughout the realm; not by proclamation, because things were yet in examination, and so might receive the more or the less, but by court-fames, which commonly print better than printed proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an ambassage unto

Arch-duke Philip, into Flanders, for the abandoning and dismissing of Perkin. Herein he employed Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir William Warham, doctor of the canon law. The archduke was then young, and governed by his council, before whom the ambassadors had audience; and Dr. Warham spake in this manner:—

"My lords, the king our master is very sorry, that England and your country here of Flanders, having been counted as man and wife for so long time, now this country of all all others should be the stage where a base counterfeit should play the part of a king of England; not only to his grace's disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorn and reproach of all sovereign princes. To counterfeit the dead image of a king in his coin is a high offence by all laws, but to counterfeit the living image of a king in his person, exceedeth all falsifications, except it should be that of a Mahomet, or an antichrist, that counterfeit divine honour. The king hath too great an opinion of this sage council, to think that any of you is caught with this fable, though way may be given by you to the passion of some, the thing in itself is so improbable. To set testimonies aside of the death of Duke Richard, which the king hath upon record, plain and infallible, because they may be thought to be in the king's own power, let the thing testify for itself. Sense and reason no power can command. Is it possible, trow you, that King Richard should damn his soul, and foul his name with so abominable a murder, and yet not mend his case? Or do you think that men of blood, that were his instruments, did turn to pity in the midst of their execution? Whereas in cruel and savage beasts, and men also, the first draught of blood doth yet make them more fierce and enraged. Do you not know, that the bloody executioners of tyrants do go to such errands with a halter about their neck; so that if they perform not, they are sure to die for it? And do you think that these men would hazard their own lives, for sparing another's? Admit they should have saved him; what should they have done with him? Turn him into London streets, that the watchmen, or any passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a justice, and so all come to light? Or should they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would have required a great

deal of care, charge, and continual fears. But, my lords, I labour too much in a clear business. The king is so wise, and hath so good friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke Perkin from his cradle. And because he is a great prince, if you have any good poet here, he can help him with notes to write his life; and to parallel him with Lambert Simnel, now the king's falconer. And therefore, to speak plainly to your lordships, it is the strangest thing in the world, that the Lady Margaret, excuse us if we name her, whose malice to the king is both causeless and endless, should now, when she is old, at the time when other women give over child-bearing, bring forth two such monsters; being not the births of nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas other natural mothers bring forth children weak, and not able to help themselves, she bringeth forth tall striplings, able soon after their coming into the world to bid battle to mighty kings. My lords, we stay unwillingly upon this part. We would to God that lady would once taste the joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto her in beholding her niece to reign in such honour and with so much royal issue, which she might be pleased to account as her own. The king's request unto the archduke and your lordships might be, that according to the example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions. But because the king may justly expect more from an ancient confederate than from a new reconciled enemy, he maketh his request unto you to deliver him up into his hands; pirates and impostors of this sort being fit to be accounted the common enemies of mankind, and no ways to be protected by the law of nations."

After some time of deliberation, the ambassadors received this short answer:—

"That the archduke, for the love of King Henry, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended duke, but in all things conserve the amity he had with the king; but for the duchess dowager, she was absolute in the lands of her dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of her own."

The king, upon the return of the ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this answer; for well he knew that a patrimonial dowry carried no part of sovereignty or command of forces. Besides, the ambassadors told him plainly, that they

saw the duchess had a great party in the archduke's council; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivance, yet the archduke underhand gave aid and fartherance to Perkin. Wherefore, partly out of courage, and partly out of policy, the king forthwith banished all Flemings, as well their persons as their wares, out of his kingdom; commanding his subjects likewise, and by name his merchants adventurers, which had a resiance at Antwerp, to return, translating the mart, which commonly followed the English cloth, unto Calais, and embarred also all farther trade for the future. This the king did, being sensible in point of honour not to suffer a pretender to the crown of England to affront him so near at hand, and he to keep terms of friendship with the country where he did set up. But he had also a farther reach; for that he knew well that the subjects of Flanders drew so great commodity from the trade of England, as by this embargo they would soon wax weary of Perkin, and that the tumult of Flanders had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the prince to displease the people. Nevertheless, for form's sake, by way of requital, the archduke did likewise banish the English out of Flanders, which in effect was done to his hand.

The king, being well advertised that Perkin did more trust upon friends and partakers within the realm than upon foreign arms, thought it behoved him to apply the remedy where the disease lay, and to proceed with severity against some of the principal conspirators here within the realm, thereby to purge the ill humours in England and to cool the hopes in Flanders; wherefore he caused to be apprehended, almost at an instant, John Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William D'Aubigney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Of these the Lord Fitzwalter was conveyed to Calais, and there kept in hold and in hope of life, until soon after, either impatient or betrayed, he dealt with his keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir Simon Mountfort, Robert Ratcliffe, and William D'Aubigney, were beheaded immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many others, clerks and laica

amongst which were two Dominican friars, and William Worseley, dean of Paul's, which latter sort passed examination, but came not to public trial.

The lord chamberlain at that time was not touched, whether it were that the king would not stir too many humours at once, but, after the manner of good physicians, purge the head last, or that Clifford, from whom most of these discoveries came, reserved that piece for his own coming over, signifying only to the king, in the meantime, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the king farther account when he came to his presence.

Upon Allhallows-day even, being now the tenth year of the king's reign, the king's second son Henry was created duke of York; and as well the duke as divers others, noblemen, knights-bachelors, and gentlemen of quality, were made knights of the Bath, according to the ceremony. Upon the morrow after Twelfth-day, the king removed from Westminster, where he had kept his Christmas, to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had advertisement that Sir Robert Clifford, in whose bosom or budget most of Perkin's secrets were laid up, was come into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if Clifford should accuse any of the great ones, they might, without suspicion or noise, or sending abroad of warrants, be presently attached, the court and prison being within the cincture of one wall. After a day or two the king drew unto him a selected council, and admitted Clifford to his presence, who first fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the king's pardon; which the king then granted, though he were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did, amongst many others, of himself, not interrogated, impeach Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain of the king's household.

The king seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this lord, as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful prodigy. To hear a man that had done him service of so high a nature as to save his life and set the crown upon his head, a man that enjoyed by his favour and advancement so great a fortune both in honour and riches,—a man that was

tied unto him in so near a band of alliance, his brother having married the king's mother,—and, lastly, a man to whom he had committed the trust of his person, in making him his chamberlain; that this man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in fear, should be false unto him. Clifford was required to say over again and again the particulars of his accusation, being warned, that in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a servant of the king's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the king, finding that he did sadly and constantly, without hesitation or varying, and with those civil protestations that were fit, stand to that that he had said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life, he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his council there present, gave order that Sir William Stanley should be restrained in his own chamber where he lay before, in the square tower; and the next day he was examined by the lords. Upon his examination he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault; so that, not very wisely, thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation. It was conceived that he trusted much to his former merits, and the interest that his brother had in the king. But those helps were overweighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the king's nature and mind. First, an over-merit; for convenient merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with kings. Next, the sense of his power; for the king thought that he that could set him up was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the glimmering of a confiscation; for he was the richest subject for value in the kingdom, there being found in his castle of Holt forty thousand marks in ready money and plate, besides jewels, household-stuff, stocks upon his grounds, and other personal estate, exceeding great. And for his revenue in land and fee it was three thousand pounds a-year of old rent, a great matter in those times. Lastly, the nature of the time; for if the king had been out of fear of his own estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his life. But the cloud of so great a rebellion hanging over his head made him work sure. Wherefore, after some six weeks' distance of time, which the king

did honourably interpose, both to give space to his brother's intercession, and to show to the world that he had a conflict with himself what he should do, he was arraigned of high treason and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

Yet is it to this day left but in dark memory, both what the case of this noble person was for which he suffered, and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection, and the alienation of his heart from the king. His case was said to be this: that in discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him he had said, "That if he were sure that that young man were King Edward's son he would never bear arms against him." This case seems somewhat a hard case, both in respect of the conditional and in respect of the other words. But for the conditional, it seemeth the judges of that time, who were learned men, and the three chief of them of the privy-council, thought it was a dangerous thing to admit ifs and ands, to qualify words of treason, whereby every man might express his malice and blanch his danger. And it was like to the case, in the following times, of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, who had said, "That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Catherine his wife again, he should be deprived of his crown, and die the death of a dog." And infinite cases may be put of like nature, which it seemeth the grave judges taking into consideration, would not admit of treasons on condition. And as for the positive words, "That he would not bear arms against King Edward's son," though the words seem calm, yet it was a plain and direct overruling of the king's title, either by the line of Lancaster or by act of parliament; which no doubt pierced the king more than if Stanley had charged his lance upon him in the field. For if Stanley would hold that opinion that a son of King Edward had still the better right, he being so principal a person of authority and favour about the king, it was to teach all England to say as much; and therefore, as those times were, that speech touched the quick. But some writers do put this out of doubt, for they say that Stanley did expressly promise to aid Perkin, and sent him some help of treasure.

Now for the motive of his falling off from the king. It is true that at Bosworth Field the king was beset, and in a manner enclosed round about by the troops of King Richard,

and in manifest danger of his life, when this Stanley was sent by his brother with three thousand men to his rescue, which he performed so that King Richard was slain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit than the king received by the hands of Stanley, being like the benefit of Christ, at once to save and crown; for which service the king gave him great gifts, made him his counsellor and chamberlain, and, somewhat contrary to his nature, had winked at the great spoils of Bosworth Field, which came almost wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet, nevertheless, blown up with the conceit of his merit, he did not think he had received good measure from the king, at least not pressing down and running over, as he expected. And his ambition was so exorbitant and unbounded, as he became suitor to the king for the earldom of Chester, which ever being a kind of appendage to the principality of Wales, and using to go to the king's son, his suit did not only end in a denial, but in a distaste; the king perceiving thereby that his desires were intemperate, and his cogitations vast and irregular, and that his former benefits were but cheap and lightly regarded by him; wherefore the king began not to brook him well. And as a little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits, the king's wit began now to suggest unto his passion that Stanley at Bosworth Field, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no matter against him, he continued him in his places until this his fall.

After him was made lord chamberlain, Giles, Lord D'Aubigney, a man of great sufficiency and valour, the more because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford, who now was become the state informer, was from the beginning an emissary and spy of the king's; and that he fled over into Flanders with his consent and privity. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that degree of grace which he had with the king before his going over; and chiefly, for that the discovery which he had made touching the lord chamberlain, which was his great service, grew not

from any thing he learned abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These executions, and especially that of the lord chamberlain, which was the chief strength of the party, and by means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the most inward man of trust amongst them, did extremely quail the design of Perkin and his complices, as well through discouragement as distrust; so that they were now, like sand without lime, ill bound together; especially as many as were English, who were at a gaze, looking strange one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking, that the king, what with his baits, and what with his nets, would draw them all unto him that were anything worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the thread, sometimes one, and sometimes another. Barley, that was joint commissioner with Clifford, did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worn; yet made his peace at the length. But the fall of this great man, being in so high authority and favour, as was thought, with the king; and the manner of carriage of the business, as if there had been secret inquisition upon him for a great time before; and the cause for which he suffered, which was little more than for saying in effect that the title of York was better than the title of Lancaster—which was the case of almost every man, at the least in opinion—was matter of great terror amongst all the king's servants and subjects; insomuch as no man almost thought himself secure, and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another, but there was a general diffidence everywhere: which nevertheless made the king rather more absolute than more safe. For "bleeding inwards, and shut vapours, strangle soonest, and oppress most."

Hereupon presently came forth swarms and volleys of libels, which are the gusts of liberty of speech restrained, and the females of sedition, containing bitter invectives and slanders against the king and some of the council: for the contriving and dispersing whereof, after great diligence of inquiry, five mean persons were caught up and executed.

Meanwhile the king did not neglect Ireland, being the soil where these mushrooms and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence

for the better settling of his affairs there, commissioners of both robes, the prior of Lanthony, to be his chancellor in that kingdom; and Sir Edward Poynings, with a power of men, and a marshal commission, together with a civil power of his lieutenant, with a clause, that the earl of Kildare, then deputy, should obey him. But the wild Irish, who were the principal offenders, fled into the woods and bogs, after their manner; and those that knew themselves guilty in the pale fled to them; so that Sir Edward Poynings was enforced to make a wild chase upon the wild Irish; where, in respect of the mountains and fastnesses, he did little good. Which, either out of a suspicious melancholy upon his bad success, or the better to save his service from disgrace, he would needs impute unto the comfort that the rebels should receive underhand from the earl of Kildare; every light suspicion growing upon the earl, in respect of the Kildare that was in the action of Lambert Simnel, and slain at Stokefield. Wherefore he caused the earl to be apprehended, and sent into England; where, upon examination, he cleared himself so well, as he was replaced in his government. But Poynings, the better to make compensation of the meagreness of his service in the wars by acts of peace, called a parliament; where was made that memorable act, which at this day is called Poynings' law, whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland: for before they were not, neither are any now in force in Ireland, which were made in England since that time, which was the tenth year of the king.

About this time began to be discovered in the king that disposition, which afterwards, nourished and whet on by bad counsellors and ministers, proved the blot of his times: which was the course he took to crush treasure out of his subjects' purses, by forfeitures upon penal laws. At this men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the king's nature, and not out of his necessity, he being now in float for treasure: for that he had newly received the peace-money from France, the benevolence-money from his subjects, and great casualties upon the confiscations of the lord chamberlain, and divers others. The first noted case of this kind was that of Sir William Capel, alderman of London; who, upon sundry penal laws, was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and com-

pounded with the king for sixteen hundred: and yet after, Empson would have cut another chop out of him, if the king had not died in the instant.

The summer following, the king, to comfort his mother, whom he did always tenderly love and revere, and to make open demonstration to the world, that the proceedings against Sir William Stanley, which were imposed upon him by necessity of state, had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to Thomas his brother, went in progress to Latham, to make merry with his mother and the earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progress, Perkin Warbeck, finding that time and temporizing, which, whilst his practices were covert and wrought well in England, made for him; did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him, for that when matters once go down the hill, they stay not without a new force; resolved to try his adventure in some exploit upon England—hoping still upon the affections of the common people towards the house of York. Which body of common people he thought was not to be practised upon, as persons of quality are; but that the only practice upon their affections was to set up a standard in the field. The place where he should make his attempt, he chose to be the coast of Kent.

The king by this time was grown to such a height of reputation for cunning and policy, that every accident and event that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before: as in this particular of Perkin's design upon Kent. For the world would not believe afterwards, but the king, having secret intelligence of Perkin's intention for Kent, the better to draw it on, went of purpose into the north afar off, laying an open side unto Perkin, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his heels, having made sure in Kent beforehand.

But so it was, that Perkin had gathered together a power of all nations, neither in number, nor in the hardiness and courage of the persons, contemptible, but in their nature and fortunes to be feared, as well of friends as enemies; being bankrupts, and many of them felons, and such as lived by rapine. These he put to sea, and arrived upon the coast of Sandwich and Deal in Kent, about July.

There he cast anchor, and to prove the affections of the people, sent some of his men to land, making great boasts of the power that was to follow. The Kentish men, perceiving that Perkin was not followed by any English of name or account, and that his forces consisted but of strangers born, and most of them base people and freebooters, fitter to spoil a coast than to recover a kingdom, resorting unto the principal gentlemen of the country, professed their loyalty to the king, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the king's service. The gentlemen, entering into consultation, directed some forces in good number to show themselves upon the coast; and some of them to make signs to entice Perkin's soldiers to land, as if they would join with them; and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them, the better to encourage them to land. But Perkin, who by playing the prince, or else taught by Secretary Frion, had learned thus much, that people under command do use to consult, and after to march in order, and rebels contrariwise run upon a head together in confusion, considering the delay of time, and observing their orderly and not tumultuary arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily youth would not set one foot out of his ship. till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the king's forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly back to their ships. In which skirmish, besides those that fled and were slain, there were taken about a hundred and fifty persons. Which, for that the king thought, that to punish a few for example was gentleman's pay; but for rascal people, they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprise: and likewise for that he saw, that Perkin's forces wonld now consist chiefly of such rabble and scum of desperate people, he therefore hanged them all for the greater terror. They were brought to London all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in a cart, and were executed, some of them at London and Wapping, and the rest at divers places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk, for sea-marks or light-houses, to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast. The king being advertised of the landing of the rebels, thought to leave his progress; but being certified the next

day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his progress, and sent Sir Richard Guildford into Kent in message; who calling the country together, did much commend from the king their fidelity, manhood, and well handling of that service; and gave them all thanks, and, in private, promised reward to some particulars.

Upon the sixteenth of November, this being the eleventh year of the king, was holden the serjeants' feast at Ely-place, there being nine serjeants of that call. The king, to honour the feast, was present with his queen at the dinner; being a prince that was ever ready to grace and countenance the professors of the law; having a little of that, that as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers.

This year also the king entered into league with the Italian potentates for the defence of Italy against France; for King Charles had conquered the realm of Naples, and lost it again, in a kind of felicity of a dream. He passed the whole length of Italy without resistance; so that it was true which Pope Alexander was wont to say, "That the Frenchmen came into Italy with chalk in their hands, to mark up their lodgings, rather than with swords to fight." He likewise entered and won, in effect, the whole kingdom of Naples itself, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many errors, as was too great a task for the best fortune to overcome. He gave no contentment to the barons of Naples, of the faction of the Angeovines; but scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him. He put all Italy upon their guard, by the seizing and holding of Ostia, and the protecting of the liberty of Pisa: which made all men suspect, that his purposes looked farther than his title of Naples. He fell too soon at differences with Ludovico Sfortia, who was the man that carried the keys which brought him in, and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some relics of the war. And lastly, in regard of his easy passage through Italy without resistance, he entered into an overmuch despising of the arms of the Italians; whereby he left the realm of Naples, at his departure, so much the less provided. So that not long after his return, the whole kingdom revolted to Ferdinando the younger, and the French were quite driven out. Never-

theless, Charles did make both great threats and great preparations to re-enter Italy once again. Wherefore at the instance of divers of the states of Italy, and especially of Pope Alexander, there was a league concluded between the said pope, Maximilian, king of the Romans, Henry, king of England, Ferdinando and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, for so they are constantly placed in the original treaty throughout, Augustino Barbadico, duke of Venice, and Ludovico Sfortia, duke of Milan, for the common defence of their estates; wherein, though Ferdinando of Naples was not named as principal, yet no doubt the kingdom of Naples was tacitly included as a fee of the Church.

There died also this year Cecile, duchess of York, mother to King Edward the Fourth, at her castle of Barkhamsted, being of extreme years, and who had lived to see three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at Foderingham, by her husband.

This year also, the king called his parliament, where many laws were made of a more private and vulgar nature than ought to detain the reader of a history. And it may be justly suspected by the proceedings following, that as the king did excel in good commonwealth laws, so nevertheless he had, in secret, a design to make use of them, as well for collecting of treasure as for correcting of manners; and so meaning thereby to harrow his people, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal law that was made this parliament, was a law of a strange nature, rather just than legal, and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain: That no person that did assist in arms, or otherwise, the king for the time being, should after be impeached therefor, or attainted, either by the course of the law or by act of parliament. But if any such act of attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect; for that it was agreeable to reason of estate that the subject should not inquire of the justness of the king's title, or quarrel; and it was agreeable to good conscience that, whatsoever the fortune of the war were, the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderful pious and noble, being like, in matter of war, unto the spirit of David in matter of plague, who said, "If I have sinned, strike me; but what

have these sheep done?" Neither wanted this law parts of prudent and deep foresight; for it did the better take away occasion for the people to busy themselves to pry into the king's title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless it did take off from his party that great tie and spur of necessity, to fight and go victors out of the field, considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety and protected, whether they stood to it or ran away. But the force and obligation of this law was in itself illusory, as to the latter part of it, by a precedent act of parliament to bind or frustrate a future. For a supreme and absolute power cannot conclude itself, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed, no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his will, that if he made any latter will it should be void. And for the case of the act of parliament, there is a notable precedent of it in King Henry the Eighth's time, who, doubting he might die in the minority of his son, procured an act to pass, that no statute made during the minority of a king should bind him or his successors, except it were confirmed by the king under his great seal at his full age. But the first act that passed in King Edward the Sixth's time was an act of repeal of that former act, at which time, nevertheless, the king was minor. But things that do not bind may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or under-propping act for the benevolence—to make the sums which any person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by course of law; which act did not only bring in the arrears, but did indeed countenance the whole business, and was pretended to be made at the desire of those that had been forward to pay.

This parliament also was made that good law which gave the attaint upon a false verdict between party and party, which before was a kind of evangile, and irremediable. It extends not to causes capital, as well because they are for the most part at the king's suit, as because in them, if they be followed in course of indictment, there passeth a double jury, the indicters and the triers, and so not twelve men.

but four-and-twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this reason holdeth not in the appeal. But the great reason was, lest it should tend to the discouragement of jurors in cases of life and death, if they should be subject to suit and penalty where the favour of life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any suit where the demand is under the value of forty pounds, for that in such cases of petty value it would not quit the charge to go about again.

There was another law made against a branch of ingratitude in women, who having been advanced by their husbands or their husbands' ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the heirs, or those in remainder, of the lands whereunto they had been so advanced. The remedy was, by giving power to the next to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that charitable law for the admission of poor suitors *in forma pauperis*, without fee to counsellor, attorney, or clerk, whereby poor men became rather able to vex than unable to sue. There were divers other good laws made that parliament, as we said before; but we still observe our manner, in selecting out those that are not of a vulgar nature.

The king this while, though he sat in parliament as in full peace, and seemed to account of the designs of Perkin, who was now returned into Flanders, but as a May-game; yet having the composition of a wise king, stout without and apprehensive within, had given order for the watching of beacons upon the coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful eye where this wandering cloud would break. But Perkin, advised to keep his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood, alive with continual blowing, sailed again into Ireland, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes of France than upon any unreadiness or discouragement he found in that people. But in the space of time between, the king's diligence and Poyning's commission had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for Perkin but the blustering affection of wild and naked people. Wherefore he was advised by his council, to seek aid of the king of Scotland, a prince young and valorous, and in good terms with his nobles and people, and ill affected to King Henry. At this time also both Maximilian and Charles of France began to bear no

good will to the king; the one being displeased with the king's prohibition of commerce with Flanders, the other holding the king for suspect, in regard of his late entry into league with the Italians. Wherefore, besides the open aids of the duchess of Burgundy, which did with sails and oars put on and advance Perkin's designs, there wanted not some secret tides from Maximilian and Charles, which did farther his fortunes; insomuch as they, both by their secret letters and messages, recommended him to the king of Scotland.

Perkin therefore coming into Scotland upon those hopes, with a well-appointed company, was by the king of Scots, being formerly well prepared, honourably welcomed, and soon after his arrival admitted to his presence, in a solemn manner: for the king received him in state in his chamber of presence, accompanied with divers of his nobles. And Perkin well attended, as well with those that the king had sent before him, as with his own train, entered the room where the king was, and coming near to the king, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces back, and with a loud voice, that all that were present might hear him, made his declaration in this manner:—

"High and mighty king, your grace, and these your nobles here present, may be pleased benignly to bow your ears, to hear the tragedy of a young man, that by right ought to hold in his hand the ball of a kingdom; but by fortune is made himself a ball, tossed from misery to misery, and from place to place. You see here before you the spectacle of a Plantagenet, who hath been carried from the nursery to the sanctuary; from the sanctuary to the direful prison; from the prison to the hand of the cruel tormentor; and from that hand to the wide wilderness, as I may truly call it, for so the world hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great kingdom, hath not ground to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth by your princely favour. Edward the Fourth, late king of England, as your grace cannot but have heard, left two sons, Edward and Richard, duke of York, both very young. Edward, the eldest, succeeded their father in the crown, by the name of King Edward the Fifth: but Richard, duke of Gloucester, their unnatural uncle, first thirsting after the kingdom, through ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their blood, out of

desire to secure himself, employed an instrument of his, confident to him, as he thought, to murder them both. But this man that was employed to execute that execrable tragedy, having cruelly slain King Edward, the eldest of the two, was moved, partly by remorse, and partly by some other means, to save Richard his brother; making a report nevertheless to the tyrant, that he had performed his commandment to both brethren. This report was accordingly believed, and published generally: so that the world hath been possessed of an opinion, that they both were barbarously made away; though ever truth hath some sparks that fly abroad, until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that stopped the mouth of the lion, and saved little Joash from the tyranny of Athaliah, when she massacred the king's children, and did save Isaac, when the hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him, preserved the second brother. For I myself, that stand here in your presence, am that very Richard, duke of York, brother of that unfortunate prince, King Edward the Fifth, now the most rightful surviving heir male to that victorious and most noble Edward, of that name the fourth, late king of England. For the manner of my escape, it is fit it should pass in silence, or, at least, in a more secret relation; for that it may concern some alive, and the memory of some that are dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had then a mother living, a queen, and one that expected daily such a commandment from the tyrant, for the murdering of her children. Thus in my tender age escaping by God's mercy out of London, I was secretly conveyed over sea; where after a time the party that had me in charge, upon what new fears, change of mind, or practice, God knoweth, suddenly forsook me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean conditions for the sustaining of my life. Wherefore distracted between several passions, the one of fear to be known, lest the tyrant should have a new attempt upon me, the other of grief and disdain to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile manner that I did; I resolved with myself to expect the tyrant's death, and then to put myself into my sister's hands, who was next heir to the crown. But in this season it happened one Henry Tudor, son to Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond,

to come from France and enter into the realm, and by subtile and foul means to obtain the crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertained; so that it was but a change from tyrant to tyrant. This Henry, my extreme and mortal enemy, so soon as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the subtile ways and means he could, to procure my final destruction; for my mortal enemy hath not only falsely surmised me to be a feigned person, giving me nick-names, so abusing the world, but also, to defer and put me from entry into England, hath offered large sums of money to corrupt the princes and their ministers, with whom I have been retained; and made importune labours to certain servants about my person, to murder or poison me, and others to forsake and leave my righteous quarrel, and to depart from my service, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. So that every man of reason may well perceive that Henry, calling himself king of England, needed not to have bestowed such great sums of treasure, nor so to have busied himself with importune and incessant labour and industry, to compass my death and ruin, if I had been such a feigned person. But the truth of my cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the lady duchess dowager of Burgundy, my most dear aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above, for the good of this whole island, and the knitting of these two kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait concord and amity, by so great an obligation, hath reserved the placing of me in the imperial throne of England for the arms and succours of your grace. Neither is it the first time that a king of Scotland hath supported them that were bereft and spoiled of the kingdom of England, as of late, in fresh memory, it was done in the person of Henry the Sixth. Wherefore, for that your grace hath given clear signs, that you are in no noble quality inferior to your royal ancestors; I, so distressed a prince, was hereby moved to come and put myself into your royal hands, desiring your assistance to recover my kingdom of England; promising faithfully to bear myself towards your grace no otherwise than if I were your own natural brother; and will, upon the recovery of mine inhe-

ritance, gratefully do you all the pleasure, that is in my utmost power."

After Perkin had told his tale, King James answered bravely and wisely: "That whatsoever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his hands." And from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him that would have persuaded him that all was but an illusion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great princes abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a war against King Henry, he entertained him in all things, as became the person of Richard, duke of York; embraced his quarrel; and, the more to put it out of doubt, that he took him to be a great prince, and not a representation only, he gave consent that this duke should take to wife the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman to the king himself, and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after, the king of Scots in person, with Perkin in his company, entered with a great army, though it consisted chiefly of borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly, into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a perfume before him as he went, caused to be published a proclamation[b] of this tenor following, in the name of Richard, duke of York, true inheritor of the crown of England:—

"It hath pleased God, who putteth down the mighty from their seat, and exalteth the humble, and suffereth not the hopes of the just to perish in the end, to give us means at the length to show ourselves armed unto our lieges and people of England. But far be it from us to intend their hurt or damage, or to make war upon them, otherwise than to deliver ourselves and them from tyranny and oppression. For our mortal enemy Henry Tudor, a false usurper of the crown of England, which to us by natural and lineal right appertaineth, knowing in his own heart our undoubted right we being the very Richard, duke of York, younger son, and now surviving heir male of the noble and victorious Edward

[b] The original of this proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy preserver and treasurer of rare antiquities, from whose manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this work.

the Fourth, late king of England, hath not only deprived us of our kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means sought to betray us, and bereave us of our life. Yet if his tyranny only extended itself to our person, although our royal blood teacheth us to be sensible of injuries, it should be less to our grief. But this Tudor, who boasteth himself to have overthrown a tyrant, hath, ever since his first entrance into his usurped reign, put little in practice, but tyranny and the feats thereof.

"For King Richard, our unnatural uncle, although desire of rule did blind him, yet in his other actions, like a true Plantagenet, was noble, and loved the honour of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people. But this our mortal enemy, agreeable to the meanness of his birth, hath trodden under-foot the honour of this nation: selling our best confederates for money, and making merchandize of the blood, estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects, by feigned wars, and dishonourable peace, only to enrich his coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful misgovernment and evil deportments at home. First, he hath, to fortify his false quarrel, caused divers nobles of this our realm, whom he held suspect and stood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered; as our cousin Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William D'Aubigney, Humphrey Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their lives with intolerable ransoms: some of which nobles are now in the sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison, our right entirely well-beloved cousin, Edward, son and heir to our uncle, duke of Clarence, and others; withholding from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might and power to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their legiances. He also married by compulsion certain of our sisters, and also the sister of our said cousin the earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the royal blood, unto certain of his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree; and putting apart all well disposed nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about his person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Risely, Tubervile, Tiler, Chomley, Empson, James Obart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, and such other caitiffs and villains of

birth, which by subtile inventions, and pilling of the people, have been the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the misrule and mischief now reigning in England.

"We, remembering these premises, with the great and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the liberties and franchises of our mother the holy church, upon pretences of wicked and heathenish policy, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortions, and daily pilling of the people by dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, and other unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, with many other heinous effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm: shall by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great lords of our blood, with the counsel of other sad persons, see that the commodities of our realm be employed to the most advantage of the same; the intercourse of merchandize betwixt realm and realm to be ministered and handled as shall more be to the common weal and prosperity of our subjects; and all such dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearsed, to be foredone and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble progenitors, kings of England, have of old time been accustomed to have the aid, succour, and help of their subjects, and true liege-men.

"And farther, we do, out of our grace and clemency, hereby as well publish and promise to all our subjects remission and free pardon of all by-past offences whatsoever, against our person or estate, in adhering to our said enemy, by whom we know well they have been misled, if they shall within time convenient submit themselves unto us. And for such as shall come with the foremost to assist our righteous quarrel, we shall make them so far partakers of our princely favour and bounty, as shall be highly for the comfort of them and theirs, both during their life and after their death: as also we shall, by all means which God shall put into our hands, demean ourselves to give royal contentment to all degrees and estates of our people, maintaining the liberties of holy church in their entire, preserving the honours, privileges, and pre-eminences of our nobles, from contempt

and disparagement according to the dignity of their blood. We shall also unyoke our people from all heavy burdens and endurances, and confirm our cities, boroughs, and towns, in their charters and freedoms, with enlargement where it shall be deserved; and in all points give our subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonair government of our noble father King Edward, in his last times, is in us revived.

"And forasmuch as the putting to death, or taking alive of our said mortal enemy, may be a mean to stay much effusion of blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by compulsion or fair promises he shall draw after him any number of our subjects to resist us, which we desire to avoid, though we be certainly informed, that our said enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the land, having already made over great masses of the treasure of our crown, the better to support him in foreign parts, we do hereby declare, that whosoever shall take or distress our said enemy, though the party be of never so mean condition, he shall be by us rewarded with a thousand pound in money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and a hundred marks by the year of inheritance, besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant.

"Lastly, we do all men to wit, and herein we take also God to witness, that whereas God hath moved the heart of our dearest cousin, the king of Scotland, to aid us in person in this our righteous quarrel; it is altogether without any pact or promise, or so much as demand of any thing that may prejudice our crown or subjects: but contrariwise, with promise on our said cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of our enemy, which we hope will be very suddenly, he will forthwith peaceably return into his own kingdom; contenting himself only with the glory of so honourable an enterprise, and our true and faithful love and amity: which we shall ever by the grace of Almighty God, so order, as shall be to the great comfort of both kingdoms."

But Perkin's proclamation did little edify with the people of England; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the king of Scotland seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred anywhere

in his favour, turned his enterprise into a road; and wasted and destroyed the county of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into Scotland with great spoils, deferring farther prosecution till another time. It is said, that Perkin, acting the part of a prince handsomely, when he saw the Scottish fell to waste the country, came to the king in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, that that might not be the manner of making the war; for that no crown was so dear to his mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country. Whereunto the king answered half in sport, that he doubted much he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy, to save the country to his use.

By this time, being the eleventh year of the king, the interruption of trade between the English and the Flemish began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore: which moved them, by all means they could devise, to affect and dispose their sovereigns respectively, to open the intercourse again; wherein time favoured them. For the archduke and his council began to see, that Perkin would prove but a runagate and citizen of the world; and that it was the part of children to fall out about babies. And the king on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to account in any consultation of state. But that that moved him most was, that being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate vein, which disperseth that blood. And yet he kept state so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the merchant adventurers likewise, being a strong company at that time, and well under-set with rich men, and good order, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent. At the last, commissioners met at London to treat: on the king's part, Bishop Fox, lord privy seal, Viscount Wells, Kendal, prior of Saint John's, Warham, master of the rolls, who began to gain much upon the king's opinion; Urswick, who was almost ever one;

and Risely: on the archduke's part, the Lord Bevers, his admiral, the Lord Verunsel, president of Flanders, and others. These concluded a perfect treaty, both of amity and intercourse, between the king and the archduke; containing articles both of state, commerce, and free fishing. This is that treaty which the Flemings call at this day *intercursus magnus;* both because it is more complete than the precedent treaties of the third and fourth year of the king; and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the one-and-twentieth year of the king, which they call *intercursus malus.* In this treaty, there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by other purporting, That if any such rebel should be required, by the prince whose rebel he was, of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should by proclamation command him to avoid the country: which if he did not within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and put out of protection. But nevertheless in this article Perkin was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no rebel. But by this means his wings were clipt of his followers that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the treaty, that it should extend to the territories of the duchess dowager. After the intercourse thus restored, the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy.

The winter following, being the twelfth year of his reign, the king called again his parliament; where he did much exaggerate both the malice, and the cruel predatory war lately made by the king of Scotland: that that king, being in amity with him, and no ways provoked, should so burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the lees and dregs of Perkin's intoxication, who was everywhere else detected and discarded: and that when he perceived it was out of his reach to do the king any hurt, he had turned his arms upon unarmed and unprovided people, to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the laws both of war and peace, concluding, that he could neither with honour, nor with the safety of his people, to whom he did owe protection, let pass these wrongs unrevenged. The parliament understood him well, and gave him a subsidy, limited to the sum of one

hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteens: for his wars were always to him as a mine of treasure of a strange kind of ore; iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom. At this parliament, for that there had been so much time spent in making laws the year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the Scottish war, there were no laws made to be remembered. Only there passed a law, at the suit of the merchant adventurers of England against the merchant adventurers of London, for monopolizing and exacting upon the trade: which it seemeth they did a little to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of trade. But those innovations were taken away by parliament.

But it was fatal to the king to fight for his money; and though he avoided to fight with enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with rebels at home: for no sooner began the subsidy to be levied in Cornwall, but the people there began to grudge and murmur. The Cornish being a race of men, stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren country, and many of them could, for need, live under ground, that were tinners. They muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little stir of the Scots, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to powder with payments: and said, it was for them to pay that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat their bread that they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the tides of people once up, there want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough; so this people did light upon two ringleaders or captains of the rout. The one was Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier of Bodmin, a notable talking fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of; the other was Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion that the law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a rebellion, and never break the peace. He told the people, that subsidies were not to be granted, nor levied in this case; that is, for wars of Scotland: for that the law had provided another course, by service of escuage, for those journeys; much less when all was

quiet, and war was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people. And therefore that it was good they should not stand like sheep before the shearers, but put on harness, and take weapons in their hands. Yet to do no creature hurt, but go and deliver the king a strong petition, for the laying down of those grievous payments, and for the punishment of those that had given him that counsel; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come. And said, for his part he did not see how they could do the duty of true Englishmen, and good liege-men, except they did deliver the king from such wicked ones, that would destroy both him and the country. Their aim was at archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the king's skreens in this envy.

After that these two, Flammock and the blacksmith, had by joint and several pratings found tokens of consent in the multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better men to be their leaders, which they said would be ere long: telling them farther, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger; but doubted not but to make both the west-end and the east-end of England to meet in so good a quarrel; and that all, rightly understood, was but for the king's service. The people, upon these seditious instigations, did arm, most of them with bows, and arrows, and bills, and such other weapons of rude and country people, and forthwith under the command of their leaders, which in such cases is ever at pleasure, marched out of Cornwall through Devonshire unto Taunton in Somersetshire, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the country. At Taunton they killed in fury an officious and eager commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the provost of Perin. Thence they marched to Wells, where the Lord Audley, with whom their leaders had before some secret intelligence, a nobleman of an ancient family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them, with great gladness and cries of joy, accepted as their general; they being now proud that they were led by a nobleman. The Lord Audley led them on from Wells to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolish people, who, in effect, led their leaders, had a mind to be led into Kent, fancying that the

people there would join with them; contrary to all reason or judgment, considering the Kentish men had showed great loyalty and affection to the king so lately before. But the rude people had heard Flammock say, that Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people of England. And upon these vain noises, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the subject. But when they were come into Kent, the country was so well settled, both by the king's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the earl of Kent, the Lord Abergavenny, and the Lord Cobham, as neither gentleman nor yeoman came in to their aid; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the army, and went home: but the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud than failed in hopes and courage. For as it did somewhat appal them, that the people came not in to them; so it did no less encourage them, that the king's forces had not set upon them, having marched from the west unto the east of England. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham; threatening either to bid battle to the king, for now the seas went higher than to Morton and Bray, or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no less fear than wealth

But to return to the king. When first he heard of this commotion of the Cornish men, occasioned by the subsidy, he was much troubled therewith; not for itself, but in regard of the concurrence of other dangers that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted, lest a war from Scotland, a rebellion from Cornwall, and the practices and conspiracies of Perkin and his partakers, would come upon him at once, knowing well that it was a dangerous triplicity to a monarchy, to have the arms of a foreigner, the discontents of subjects, and the title of a pretender to meet. Nevertheless the occasion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the parliament had broken up, the king had presently raised a puissant army to war upon Scotland. And King James of Scotland likewise, on his part, had made great preparations, either for defence, or for new assailing of Eng-

land. But as for the king's forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the conduct of D'Aubigny, the lord chamberlain. But as soon as the king understood of the rebellion of Cornwall, he stayed those forces, retaining them for his own service and safety. But therewithal he despatched the earl of Surrey into the north, for the defence and strength of those parts, in case the Scots should stir. But for the course he held towards the rebels, it was utterly differing from his former custom and practice: which was ever full of forwardness and celerity to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides, that he was attempered by years, and less in love with dangers, by the continued fruition of a crown, it was a time when the various appearance to his thoughts of perils of several natures, and from divers parts, did make him judge it his best and surest way, to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his kingdom: according to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him to alter his counsel. For neither did the rebels spoil the country, in which case it had been dishonour to abandon his people: neither on the other side did their forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them before they grew too strong. And lastly, both reason of estate and war seemed to agree with this course: for that insurrections of base people are commonly more furious in their beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at vantage, being tired and harassed with a long march; and more at mercy, being cut off far from their country, and therefore not able by any sudden flight to get to retreat, and to renew the troubles.

When, therefore, the rebels were encamped on Blackheath upon the hill, whence they might behold the city of London, and the fair valley about it, the king knowing well that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to despatch with them, that it might appear to have been no coldness in fore-slowing, but wisdom in choosing his time, resolved with all speed to assail them, and yet with

that providence and surety, as should leave little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he divided them into three parts—the first was led by the earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the earls of Essex and Suffolk. These noblemen were appointed, with some cornets of horse, and bands of foot, and good store of artillery, wheeling about to put themselves beyond the hill where the rebels were encamped; and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof, except those that lay towards London; thereby to have these wild beasts, as it were, in a toil. The second part of his forces, which were those that were to be most in action, and upon which he relied most for the fortune of the day, he did assign to be led by the lord chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the rebels in front, from that side which is towards London. The third part of his forces, being likewise great and brave forces, he retained about himself, to be ready upon all events to restore the fight, or consummate the victory; and meanwhile to secure the city. And for that purpose he encamped in person in Saint George's Fields, putting himself between the city and the rebels. But the city of London, especially at the first, upon the near encampment of the rebels, was in great tumult: as it useth to be with wealthy and populous cities, especially those which for greatness and fortune are queens of their regions, who seldom see out of their windows, or from their towers, an army of enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the conceit, that they dealt with a rout of people, with whom there was no composition, or condition, or orderly treating, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon rapine and spoil. And although they had heard that the rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly by the way as they went, yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite to fall upon spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of people, some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side: giving themselves alarms and panic fears continually. Nevertheless, both Tate the lord mayor, and Shaw and Haddon the sheriffs, did their part stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the people. And the king likewise did adjoin some captains of experience in the wars,

to advise and assist the citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the king had so ordered the matter, that the rebels must win three battles before they could approach the city, and that he had put his own person between the rebels and them, and that the great care was, rather how to impound the rebels that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them, they grew to be quiet and out of fear; the rather for the confidence they reposed, which was not small, in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex, and D'Aubigny; all men well famed and loved amongst the people. As for Jasper, duke of Bedford, whom the king used to employ with the first in his wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

It was the two-and-twentieth of June, and a Saturday, which was the day of the week the king fancied, when the battle was fought; though the king had, by all the art he could devise, given out a false day, as if he prepared to give the rebels battle on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The lords that were appointed to circle the hill, had some days before planted themselves, as at the receit, in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, which was done, the better to keep the rebels in opinion that they should not fight that day, the Lord D'Aubigny marched on towards them, and first beat some troops of them from Deptford-bridge, where they fought manfully; but, being in no great number, were soon driven back, and fled up to their main army upon the hill. The army, at that time, hearing of the approach of the king's forces, were putting themselves in array, not without much confusion. But neither had they placed, upon the first high ground towards the bridge, any forces to second the troops below, that kept the bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main battle, which stood in array far into the heath, near to the ascent of the hill. So that the earl with his forces mounted the hill, and recovered the plain without resistance. The Lord D'Aubigny charged them with great fury; insomuch as it had like, by accident, to have branded the fortune of the day: for, by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting at the head of his troops, he was taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small

time, and for their persons showed no want of courage; but being ill armed, and ill led, and without horse or artillery, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three leaders, the Lord Audley, the blacksmith, and Flammock, as commonly the captains of commotions are but half-couraged men, suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the rebels' part were some two thousand men; their army amounting, as it is said, unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were, in effect, all taken; for that the hill, as was said, was encompassed with the king's forces round about. On the king's part there died about three hundred, most of them shot with arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a tailor's yard; so strong and mighty a bow the Cornishmen were said to draw.

The victory thus obtained, the king created divers bannerets, as well upon Blackheath, where his lieutenant had won the field, whither he rode in person to perform the said creation, as in St. George's Fields, where his own person had been encamped. And for matter of liberality, he did, by open edict, give the goods of all the prisoners unto those that had taken them; either to take them in kind, or compound for them, as they could. After matter of honour and liberality, followed matter of severity and execution. The Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a paper coat painted with his own arms; the arms reversed, the coat torn, and he at Tower-hill beheaded. Flammock and the blacksmith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: the blacksmith taking pleasure upon the hurdle, as it seemeth by words that he uttered, to think that he should be famous in after times. The king was once in mind to have sent down Flammock and the blacksmith to have been executed in Cornwall, for the more terror: but being advertised that the country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the people farther. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the field, the king did satisfy himself with the lives of only three offenders, for the expiation of this great rebellion.

It was a strange thing to observe the variety and inequality

of the king's executions and pardons: and a man would think it, at the first, a kind of lottery or chance. But, looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it, much more, perhaps, than after so long a distance of time we can now discern. In the Kentish commotion, which was but a handful of men, there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; and in this so mighty a rebellion but three. Whether it were that the king put to account the men that were slain in the field, or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause, or that the harmless behaviour of this people, that came from the west of England to the east, without mischief almost, or spoil of the country, did somewhat mollify him, and move him to compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference between people that did rebel upon wantonness, and them that did rebel upon want.

After the Cornishmen were defeated, there came from Calais to the king an honourable ambassage from the French king, which had arrived at Calais a month before, and there was stayed in respect of the troubles, but honourably entertained and defrayed. The king, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have patience, till a little smoke, that was raised in his country, were over, which would soon be; slighting, as his manner was, that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This ambassage concerned no great affair, but only the prolongation of days for payment of moneys, and some other particulars of the frontiers. And it was, indeed, but a wooing ambassage, with good respects to entertain the king in good affection; but nothing was done or handled to the derogation of the king's late treaty with the Italians.

But during the time that the Cornishmen were in their march towards London, the king of Scotland, well advertised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of a war from England, whensoever those stirs were appeased, neglected not his opportunity; but thinking the king had his hands full, entered the frontiers of England again with an army, and besieged the castle of Norham in person, with part of his forces, sending the rest to forage the country. But Fox, bishop of Duresme, a wise man, and one that could see through the present to the future, doubting as much before,

had caused his castle of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition; and had manned it likewise with a very great number of tall soldiers, more than for the proportion of the castle, reckoning rather upon a sharp assault than a long siege. And for the country, likewise, he had caused the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy approach; and sent in post to the earl of Surrey, who was not far off, in Yorkshire, to come in diligence to the succour. So as the Scottish king both failed of doing good upon the castle, and his men had but a catching harvest of their spoils: and when he understood that the earl of Surrey was coming on with great forces, he returned back into Scotland. The earl, finding the castle freed, and the enemy retired, pursued with all celerity into Scotland, hoping to have overtaken the Scottish king, and to have given him battle; but, not attaining him in time, sat down before the castle of Aton, one of the strongest places, then esteemed, between Berwick and Edinburgh, which in a small time he took. And soon after, the Scottish king retired farther into his country, and the weather being extraordinary foul and stormy, the earl returned into England. So that the expeditions on both parts were, in effect, but a castle taken, and a castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the forces, nor to the heat of the quarrel, nor to the greatness of the expectation.

Amongst these troubles, both civil and external, came into England from Spain, Peter Hialas, some call him Elias, surely he was the forerunner of the good hap that we enjoy at this day: for his ambassage set the truce between England and Scotland; the truce drew on the peace; the peace the marriage; and the marriage the union of the kingdoms; a man of great wisdom, and, as those times were, not unlearned; sent from Ferdinando and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, unto the king, to treat a marriage between Catherine, their second daughter, and Prince Arthur. This treaty was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some conference which he had with the king touching this business, the king, who had a great dexterity in getting suddenly into the bosom of the ambassadors of foreign princes, if he liked the men; inso-

much as he would many times communicate with them of his own affairs, yea, and employ them in his service, fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the debates and differences with Scotland. For the king naturally did not love the barren wars with Scotland, though he made his profit of the noise of them. And he wanted not in the council of Scotland, those that would advise their king to meet him at the half way, and to give over the war with England; pretending to be good patriots, but indeed favouring the affairs of the king. Only his heart was too great to begin with Scotland for the motion of peace. On the other side, he had met with an ally of Ferdinando of Arragon, as fit for his turn as could be. For after that King Ferdinando had, upon assured confidence of the marriage to succeed, taken upon him the person of a fraternal ally to the king, he would not let, in a Spanish gravity, to counsel the king in his own affairs. And the king on his part, not being wanting to himself, but making use of every man's humours, made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the council of Ferdinando. Wherefore he was content that Hialas, as in a matter moved and advised from Hialas himself, should go into Scotland, to treat of a concord between the two kings. Hialas took it upon him, and coming to the Scottish king, after he had with much art brought King James to hearken to the more safe and quiet counsels, wrote unto the king, that he hoped that peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate counsellor of his own, that might treat of the conditions. Whereupon the king directed Bishop Fox, who at that time was at his castle of Norham, to confer with Hialas, and they both to treat with some commissioners deputed from the Scottish king. The commissioners of both sides met. But after much dispute upon the articles and conditions of peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a peace. The chief impediment thereof was the demand of the king to have Perkin delivered into his hands, as a reproach to all kings, and a person not protected by the law of nations. The king of Scotland, on the other side, peremptorily denied so to do, saying, that he, for his part, was no competent judge of Perkin's title; but

that he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his kinswoman, and aided him with his arms, upon the belief that he was a prince; and therefore, that he could not now with his honour so unrip, and, in a sort, put a lie upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his enemies. The bishop likewise, who had certain proud instructions from the king, at the least in the front, though there were a pliant clause at the foot, that remitted all to the bishop's discretion, and required him by no means to break off in ill terms, after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of Perkin, did move a second point of his instructions, which was, that the Scottish king would give the king an interview in person at Newcastle. But this being reported to the Scottish king, his answer was, that he meant to treat a peace, and not to go a begging for it. The bishop also, according to another article of his instructions, demanded restitution of the spoils taken by the Scottish, or damages for the same. But the Scottish commissioners answered that that was but as water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the king's people were better able to bear the loss, than their master to repair it. But in the end, as persons capable of reason, on both sides they made rather a kind of recess than a breach of treaty, and concluded upon a truce for some months following. But the king of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the Englishmen, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore in a noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent king by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years together; nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him; and that, to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people, whom he might not hold in any long discontent: and therefore required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile: telling him withal, that he could not say, but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that,

upon two several trials, none had declared themselves on his side; but nevertheless, he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was, that he should not repent him for putting himself into his hands; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire. Perkin, not descending at all from his stage-like greatness, answered the king in few words, that he saw his time was not yet come: but whatsoever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the king. Taking his leave, he would not think of Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him since the treaty of the archduke, concluded the year before; but took his lady, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland.

This twelfth year of the king, a little before this time, Pope Alexander, who loved best those princes that were furthest off, and with whom he had least to do, taking very thankfully the king's late entrance into league for the defence of Italy, did remunerate him with an hallowed sword and cap of maintenance sent by his nuncio. Pope Innocent had done the like, but it was not received in that glory: for the king appointed the mayor and his brethren to meet the pope's orator at London-bridge, and all the streets between the bridge foot, and the palace of Paul's, where the king then lay, were garnished with the citizens, standing in their liveries. And the morrow after, being Allhallows day, the king, attended with many of his prelates, nobles, and principal courtiers, went in procession to Paul's, and the cap and sword were borne before him. And after the procession, the king himself remaining seated in the quire, the lord archbishop, upon the greece of the quire, made a long oration: setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour which the pope, in these ornaments and ensigns of benediction, had done the king; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts, they used to be bestowed: and then recited the king's principal acts and merits, which had made him appear worthy in the eyes of his holiness, of this great honour.

All this while the rebellion of Cornwall, whereof we have spoken, seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments, and

so had made them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. But now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they used to do upon the top of water. The king's lenity, by that time the Cornish rebels, who were taken and pardoned, and, as it was said, many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two shillings apiece, were come down into their country, had rather emboldened them, than reclaimed them; insomuch as they stuck not to say to their neighbours and countrymen, that the king did well to pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind: and began whetting and inciting one another to renew the commotion. Some of the subtilest of them, hearing of Perkin's being in Ireland, found means to send to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When Perkin heard this news, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his council, which were principally three; Herne, a mercer, that had fled for debt; Skelton, a tailor, and Astley, a scrivener; for Secretary Frion was gone. These told him, that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into Kent, and when he went into Scotland; the one being a place so near London, and under the king's nose; and the other a nation so distasted with the people of England, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first, when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at Westminster before this time. For these kings, as he had now experience, would sell poor princes for shoes. But he must rely wholly upon people; and therefore advised him to sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall: which accordingly he did; having in his company four small barks, with some six score or seven score fighting men. He arrived in September at Whitsand-Bay, and forthwith came to Bodmin, the blacksmith's town; where there assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude people. There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against the king and his government. And as it fareth with smoke, that never loseth itself till it be at the highest, he

did now before his end raise his style, entitling himself no more Richard, duke of York, but Richard the Fourth, king of England. His council advised him by all means to make himself master of some good walled town; as well to make his men find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people, by like hopes of booty; as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have an ill day, or unlucky chance in the field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the city of Exeter, the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts.

When they were come before Exeter, they forbare to use any force at the first, but made continual shouts and outcries to terrify the inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places call and talk to them from under the walls, to join with them, and be of their party; telling them, that the king would make them another London, if they would be the first town that should acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, agents or chosen men, to tempt them, and to treat with them. The citizens on their part showed themselves stout and loyal subjects; neither was there so much as any tumult or division amongst them, but all prepared themselves for a valiant defence, and making good the town. For well they saw, that the rebels were of no such number or power, that they needed to fear them as yet; and well they hoped, that before their numbers increased, the king's succours would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of evils to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly people. Wherefore, setting all things in good order within the town, they nevertheless let down with cords, from several parts of the walls privily, several messengers, that if one came to mischance another might pass on, which should advertise the king of the state of the town, and implore his aid. Perkin also doubted that succours would come ere long, and therefore resolved to use his utmost force to assault the town; and for that purpose having mounted scaling-ladders in divers places upon the walls, made at the same instant an attempt to force one of the gates. But having no artillery nor engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with logs of timber, nor by the use of iron bars, and iron crows, and such other means at hand, he

had no way left him but to set one of the gates on fire, which he did. But the citizens well perceiving the danger, before the gate could be fully consumed, blocked up the gate, and some space about it on the inside, with faggots and other fuel, which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire; and in the mean time raised up rampiers of earth, and cast up deep trenches, to serve instead of wall and gate. And for the scaladoes, they had so bad success, as the rebels were driven from the walls with the loss of two hundred men.

The king when he heard of Perkin's siege of Exeter, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him, that the king of rake-hells was landed in the west, and that he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he could never yet do. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the king, that he was indeed much joyed with the news of Perkin's being in English ground, where he could have no retreat by land; thinking now, that he should be cured of those privy stitches which he had long had about his heart, and at some times broken his sleeps, in the midst of all his felicity. And to set all men's hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those that should now do him service to make an end of these troubles, should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the eleventh hour, and had the whole wages of the day. Therefore now, like the end of a play, a great number came upon the stage at once. He sent the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Brook, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with expedite forces to speed to Exeter, to the rescue of the town, and to spread the fame of his own following in person with a royal army. The earl of Devonshire, and his son, with the Carews, and the Fulfordes, and other principal persons of Devonshire, uncalled from the court, but hearing that the king's heart was so much bent upon this service, made haste with troops that they had raised, to be the first that should succour the city of Exeter, and prevent the king's succours. The duke of Buckingham likewise, with many brave gentlemen, put themselves in arms, not staying either the king's or the lord chamberlain's coming on, but making a body of forces of themselves, the more to endear their merit; signifying to the king their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure. So

that, according to the proverb, in the coming down, every saint did help.

Perkin, hearing this thunder of arms, and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his siege, and marched to Taunton; beginning already to squint one eye upon the crown and another upon the sanctuary; though the Cornishmen were become like metal often fired and quenched, churlish, and would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was at his rising from Exeter between six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of so great an enterprise, and to partake of the spoil; though upon the raising of the siege some did slip away. When he was come near Taunton, he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about midnight, he fled with three-score horse to Bewdley in the New Forest, where he and divers of his company registered themselves sanctuary men, leaving his Cornishmen to the four winds; but yet thereby easing them of their vow, and using his wonted compassion, not to be by when his subjects' blood should be spilt. The king, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hundred horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the sea, or to that same little island called a sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do, was to beset the sanctuary, and to maintain a strong watch about it, till the king's pleasure were farther known. As for the rest of the rebels, they, being destitute of their head, without stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the king's mercy. And the king, who commonly drew blood, as physicians do, rather to save life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure; now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons, which he reserved to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some horse to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, where the Lady Catherine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved; adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex. The king sent in the greater diligence, not know-

ing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said that the king received her not only with compassion, but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his queen, to remain with her; giving her a very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life, and many years after. The name of the White Rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty.

The king went forwards on his journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter, where he gave the citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the sword he wore from his side, he gave it to the mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the ringleaders of the Cornishmen, in sacrifice to the citizens whom they had put in fear and trouble. At Exeter the king consulted with his council, whether he should offer life to Perkin if he would quit the sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The council were divided in opinion: some advised the king to take him out of sanctuary per force, and to put him to death, as in a case of necessity, which in itself dispenseth with consecrated places and things: wherein they doubted not also but the king should find the pope tractable to ratify his deed, either by declaration, or, at least, by indulgence. Others were of opinion, since all was now safe, and no further hurt could be done, that it was not worth the exposing of the king to new scandal and envy. A third sort fell upon the opinion, that it was not possible for the king ever, either to satisfy the world well touching the imposture, or to learn out the bottom of the conspiracy, except by promise of life and pardon, and other fair means, he should get Perkin into his hands. But they did all in their preambles much bemoan the king's case, with a kind of indignation at his fortune; that a prince of his high wisdom and virtue, should have been so long and so oft exercised and vexed with idols. But the king said, that it was the vexation of God Almighty himself to be vexed with idols, and therefore that that was

not to trouble any of his friends; and that for himself, he always despised them; but was grieved that they had put his people to such trouble and misery. But in conclusion, he leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deal with Perkin: who seeing himself prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, having tried princes and people, great and small, and found all either false, faint or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the condition. The king did also, while he was at Exeter, appoint the Lord Darcy, and others, commissioners, for the finding of all such as were of any value, and had any hand or partaking in the aid of Perkin, or the Cornishmen, either in the field or in the flight.

These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure. Perkin was brought into the king's court, but not to the king's presence; though the king, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in show at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the king to London. But from his first appearance upon the stage, in his new person of a sycophant or juggler, instead of his former person of a prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision not only of the courtiers, but also of the common people, who flocked about him as he went along; that one might know afar off where the owl was, by the flight of birds, some mocking, some wondering, some cursing, some prying and picking matter out of his countenance and gesture to talk of: so that the false honour and respects which he had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was come to London, the king gave also the city the solace of this May-game; for he was conveyed leisurely on horseback, but not in any ignominious fashion, through Cheapside and Cornhill to the Tower; and from thence back again to Westminster, with the [c]churm of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the show, there followed a little distance off Perkin, an inward counsellor of his, one that had been sergeant farrier to the king. This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take a holy

[c] Cum choro.

habit than a holy place, and clad himself like a hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken. But this man was bound hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower, and within few days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined, and after his confession taken, an extract was made of such parts of them, as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and dispersed abroad: wherein the king did himself no right; for as there was a laboured tale of particulars, of Perkin's father and mother, and grandsire and grandmother, and uncles and cousins, by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of anything concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him; nor the duchess of Burgundy herself, that all the world did take knowledge of, as the person that had put life and being into the whole business, so much as named or pointed at. So that men, missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before; but the king chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle coals. At that time also it did not appear by any new examination or commitments, that any other person of quality was discovered or appeached, though the king's closeness made that a doubt dormant.

About this time a great fire in the night-time suddenly began at the king's palace of Shene, near unto the king's own lodgings, whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly household stuff, which gave the king occasion of building from the ground that fine pile of Richmond, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable accident: There was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man seeing the success, and emulating perhaps the enterprise of Christophorus Columbus, in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been by him made some six years before, conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west. And, surely, it may be he had more firm and pregnant conjectures of it, than Columbus had of this at

the first. For the two great islands of the old and new world, being, in the shape and making of them, broad towards the north, and pointed towards the south, it is likely that the discovery first began where the lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discovery of some lands, which they took to be islands, and were indeed the continent of America, towards the north-west. And it may be that some relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of Columbus, and by him suppressed (desirous rather to make his enterprise the child of his science and fortune, than the follower of a former discovery), did give him better assurance that all was not sea, from the west of Europe and Africa unto Asia, than either Seneca's prophecy, or Plato's antiquities, or the nature of the tides and land-winds, and the like, which were the conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have relied: though I am not ignorant, that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten discovery, a little before, of a Spanish pilot, who died in the house of Columbus. But this Gabato, bearing the king in hand, that he would find out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him to man and victual a ship at Bristol for the discovery of that island: with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed, as he affirmed at his return, and made a chart thereof, very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and a half, finding the seas still open. It is certain, also, that the king's fortune had a tender of that great empire of the West-Indies. Neither was it a refusal on the king's part, but a delay by accident, that put by so great an acquest; for Christophorus Columbus, refused by the king of Portugal, who would not embrace at once both east and west, employed his brother, Bartholomæus Columbus, unto King Henry, to negotiate for his discovery; and it so fortuned, that he was taken by pirates at sea, by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the king: so long, that before he had obtained a capitulation with the king for his brother, the enterprise by him was achieved, and so the West-Indies by providence were then reserved

for the crown of Castile. Yet this sharpened the king so, that not only in this voyage, but again, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and likewise in the eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.

In this fourteenth year also, by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto his will, and hangeth great weights upon small wires, there fell out a trifling and untoward accident, that drew on great and happy effects. During the truce with Scotland, there were certain Scottish young gentlemen that came into Norham town, and there made merry with some of the English of the town: and having little to do, went sometimes forth and would stand looking upon the castle. Some of the garrison of the castle, observing this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their minds purged of the late ill blood of hostility, either suspected them, or quarrelled them for spies, whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows, so that many were wounded of either side, and the Scottish men, being strangers in the town, had the worst, insomuch that some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the wardens of the marches of both sides, and no good order taken, the king of Scotland took it to himself, and being much kindled, sent a herald to the king to make protestation, that if reparation were not done, according to the conditions of the truce, his king did denounce war. The king, who had often tried fortune, and was inclined to peace, made answer, that what had been done was utterly against his will and without his privity; but if the garrison soldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the truce in all points to be preserved. But this answer seemed to the Scottish king but a delay to make the complaint breathe out with time, and therefore it did rather exasperate him than satisfy him. Bishop Fox, understanding from the king that the Scottish king was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the Scottish king to appease him. Whereupon King James, mollified by the bishop's submissive and eloquent letters, wrote back unto him, that though he were in part moved by his letters,

yet he should not be fully satisfied except he spake with him, as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both kingdoms. The bishop, advising first with the king, took his journey for Scotland. The meeting was at Melross, an abbey of the Cistercians, where the king then abode. The king first roundly uttered unto the bishop his offence conceived for the insolent breach of truce, by his men of Norham Castle; whereunto Bishop Fox made such humble and smooth answer, as it was like oil unto the wound, whereby it began to heal: and this was done in the presence of the king and his council. After, the king spake with the bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying, that these temporary truces and peaces were soon made and soon broken, but that he desired a straiter amity with the king of England; discovering his mind, that if the king would give him in marriage the Lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, that indeed might be a knot indissoluble. That he knew well what place and authority the bishop deservedly had with his master: therefore, if he would take the business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The bishop answered soberly, that he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour. Wherefore the bishop returning to the king, and giving account what had passed, and finding the king more than well disposed in it, gave the king advice, first to proceed to a conclusion of peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, which was published a little before Christmas, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign, to continue for both the kings' lives, and the over-liver of them, and a year after. In this peace there was an article contained, that no Englishman should enter into Scotland, and no Scottishman into England, without letters commendatory from the kings of either nation. This at first sight might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the nations; but it was done to lock in the borderers.

This year there was also born to the king a third son, who was christened by the name of Edmund, and shortly after died. And much about the same time came news of the

death of Charles, the French king, for whom there were celebrated solemn and princely obsequies.

It was not long but Perkin, who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison, began to stir; for, deceiving his keepers, he took him to his heels, and made speed to the sea-coast. But presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the house of Bethlehem, called the Priory of Shene (which had the privilege of sanctuary), and put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought a holy man, and much reverenced in those days. He came to the king, and besought the king for Perkin's life only, leaving him otherwise to the king's discretion. Many about the king were again more hot than ever to have the king to take him forth and hang him. But the king, that had a high stomach, and could not hate any that he despised, bid "Take him forth and set the knave in the stocks;" and so promising the prior his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three days after, upon a scaffold set up in the Palace Court at Westminster, he was fettered and set in the stocks for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the Cross in Cheapside, and in both places he read his confession, of which we made mention before; and was from Cheapside conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the king was, as was partly touched before, grown to be such a partner with fortune, as nobody could tell what actions the one and what the other owned; for it was believed generally that Perkin was betrayed, and that this escape was not without the king's privity, who had him all the time of his flight in a line, and that the king did this to pick a quarrel to him to put him to death, and to be rid of him at once; but this is not probable. For that the same instruments who observed him in his flight might have kept him from getting into sanctuary.

But it was ordained that this winding-ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the true tree itself; for Perkin, after he had been a while in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers, servants to the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Digby, being four in number — Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long Roger.

These varlets, with mountains of promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his escape; but knowing well that his own fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no man's hopes, and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none, he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot, which was to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower, whom the weary life of a long imprisonment, and the often and renewing fears of being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young prince he thought the servants would look upon, though not upon himself; and, therefore, after that by some message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the earl's consent, it was agreed that these four should murder their master the lieutenant secretly in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower and presently let forth Perkin and the earl. But this conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the opinion of the king's great wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister fame, that Perkin was but his bait to entrap the earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working, as if that also had been the king's industry, it was fatal that there should break forth a counterfeit earl of Warwick, a cordwainer's son, whose name was Ralph Wilford, a young man taught and set on by an Augustine friar, called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk came forwards into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out that this Wilford was the true earl of Warwick, but also the friar, finding some light credence in the people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come in to his aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the king's estate from the earl of Warwick, and thereby to colour the king's severity that followed, together with the madness of the friar so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the saving of the friar's life, which nevertheless was indeed but the privilege of his order, and

the pity in the common people, which if it run in a strong stream, doth ever cast up scandal and envy, made it generally rather talked than believed that all was but the king's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon Perkin, that had offended against grace now the third time, was at the last proceeded with, and by commissioners of oyer and terminer, arraigned at Westminster, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom, for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner, and condemned, and a few days after executed at Tyburn, where he did again openly read his confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a king, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate.

As for Perkin's three counsellors, they had registered themselves sanctuary men when their master did; and whether upon pardon obtained or continuance within the privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

There were executed with Perkin the mayor of Cork and his son, who had been principal abettors of his treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other persons about the Tower conspiracy, whereof four were lieutenant's men; but of those eight but two were executed. And immediately after was arraigned before the earl of Oxford, then for the time high-steward of England, the poor prince, the earl of Warwick; not for the attempt to escape simply, for that was not acted; and besides, the imprisonment not being for treason, the escape, by law, could not be treason, but for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and to destroy the king; and the earl confessing the indictment, had judgment, and was shortly after beheaded on Tower-hill.

This was also the end, not only of this noble and commiserable person Edward the earl of Warwick, eldest son to the duke of Clarence, but likewise of the line male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great royalty and renown from the time of the famous king of England, King Henry the Second; howbeit it was a race often dipped in their own blood. It hath remained since only transplanted

into other names, as well of the imperial line as of other noble houses. But it was neither guilt of crime nor reason of state that could quench the envy that was upon the king for this execution, so that he thought good to export it out of the land, and to lay it upon his new ally, Ferdinando, king of Spain. For these two kings understanding one another at half a word, so it was that there were letters showed out of Spain whereby, in the passages concerning the treaty of the marriage, Ferdinando had written to the king in plain terms that he saw no assurance of his succession as long as the earl of Warwick lived, and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers. But hereby, as the king did in some part remove the envy from himself, so he did not observe that he did withal bring a kind of malediction and infausting upon the marriage as an ill prognostic, which in event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small time after the marriage, and the Lady Catharine herself, a sad and a religious woman, long after, when King Henry the Eighth his resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words that she had not offended, but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood, meaning that of the earl of Warwick.

This fifteenth year of the king there was a great plague both in London and in divers parts of the kingdom; wherefore the king, after often change of places, whether to avoid the danger of the sickness, or to give occasion of an interview with the archduke, or both, sailed over with his queen to Calais. Upon his coming thither the archduke sent an honourable ambassage unto him, as well to welcome him into those parts, as to let him know that if it pleased him he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withal that the king might be pleased to appoint some place that were out of any walled town or fortress, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the French king; and though, he said, he made a great difference between the two kings, yet he would be loth to give a precedent, that might make it after to be expected at his hands by another whom he trusted less. The king accepted of the courtesy, and admitted of his excuse, and appointed the place to be at Saint Peter's Church without Calais. But withal he did

visit the archduke with ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord St. John, and the secretary, unto whom the archduke did the honour, as, going to mass at Saint Omer's, to set the Lord St. John on his right hand and the secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to church. The day appointed for the interview the king went on horseback some distance from Saint Peter's Church, to receive the archduke; and upon their approaching, the archduke made haste to light, and offered to hold the king's stirrup at his alighting, which the king would not permit, but descending from horseback they embraced with great affection, and withdrawing into the church to a place prepared, they had long conference, not only upon the confirmation of former treaties and the freeing of commerce, but upon cross marriages, to be had between the duke of York, the king's second son, and the archduke's daughter; and again between Charles, the archduke's son and heir, and Mary, the king's second daughter. But these blossoms of unripe marriages were but friendly wishes and the airs of loving entertainment, though one of them came afterwards to conclusion in treaty, though not in effect. But during the time that the two princes convened and communed together in the suburbs of Calais, the demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the archduke; who, besides that he was a prince of an excellent good nature, being conscious to himself how drily the king had been used by his council in the matter of Perkin, did strive by all means to recover it in the king's affection. And having also his ears continually beaten with the counsels of his father and father-in-law, who, in respect of their jealous hatred against the French king, did always advise the archduke to anchor himself upon the amity of King Henry of England, was glad upon this occasion to put in ure and practice their precepts, calling the king patron and father, and protector,—these very words the king repeats when he certified of the loving behaviour of the archduke to the city, and what else he could devise to express his love and observance to the king. There came also to the king the governor of Picardy and the bailiff of Amiens, sent from Lewis the French king to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory and winning of the duchy of Milan. It seemeth the king

was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts while he was at Calais, for he did himself certify all the news and occurrents of them in every particular, from Calais, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which no doubt made no small talk in the city; for the king, though he could not entertain the good will of the citizens, as Edward the Fourth did, yet by affability and other princely graces did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This year also died John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor of England, and cardinal. He was a wise man, and eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughty; much accepted by the king, but envied by the nobility, and hated of the people. Neither was his name left out of Perkin's proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the king's casting counters, because he had the image and superscription upon him of the pope, in his honour of cardinal. He won the king with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his less fortunes; and also for that, in his affections, he was not without an inveterate malice against the house of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take envy from the king, more than the king was willing to put upon him: for the king cared not for subterfuges, but would stand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made envy still grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after show, that the bishop in feeding the king's humour did rather temper it. He had been by Richard the Third committed, as in custody, to the duke of Buckingham, whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King Richard. But after the duke was engaged, and thought the bishop should have been his chief pilot in the tempest, the bishop was gotten into the cock-boat, and fled over beyond seas. But whatsoever else was in the man, he deserveth a most happy memory, in that he was the principal mean of joining the two roses. He died of great years, but of strong health and powers.

The next year, which was the sixteenth year of the king, and the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred, was the year of jubilee at Rome. But Pope Alexander, to

save the hazard and charges of men's journeys to Rome, thought good to make over those graces by exchange, to such as would pay a convenient rate, seeing that they could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into England, Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, the pope's commissioner, better chosen than were the commissioners of Pope Leo afterwards employed for Germany; for he carried the business with great wisdom, and semblance of holiness; insomuch as he levied great sums of money within this land to the pope's use, with little or no scandal. It was thought the king shared in the money. But it appeareth by a letter which Cardinal Adrian, the king's pensioner, wrote to the king from Rome some few years after, that this was not so. For this cardinal, being to persuade Pope Julius, on the king's behalf, to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between Prince Henry and the Lady Catharine, finding the pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal argument concerning the king's merit towards that see, that he had touched none of those deniers which had been levied by Pons in England. But that it might the better appear, for the satisfaction of the common people, that this was consecrated money, the same nuncio brought unto the king a brief from the pope, wherein the king was exhorted and summoned to come in person against the Turk; for that the pope, out of the care of an universal father, seeing almost under his eyes the successes and progresses of that great enemy of the faith, had had in the conclave, and with the assistance of the ambassadors of foreign princes, divers consultations about a holy war, and a general expedition of Christian princes against the Turk; wherein it was agreed and thought fit, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians, should make a war upon Thracia; the French and Spaniards upon Græcia; and that the pope, willing to sacrifice himself in so good a cause, in person, and in company of the king of England, the Venetians, and such other states as were great in maritime power, would sail with a puissant navy through the Mediterranean unto Constantinople. And that to this end, his holiness had sent nuncios to all Christian princes; as well for a cessation of all quarrels and differences amongst themselves, as for speedy

preparations and contributions of forces and treasure for this sacred enterprise.

To this the king, who understood well the court of Rome, made an answer rather solemn than serious; signifying,

"That no prince on earth should be more forward and obedient, both by his person, and by all his possible forces and fortunes, to enter into this sacred war, than himself. But that the distance of place was such, as no forces that he should raise for the seas, could be levied or prepared but with double the charge, and double the time, at the least, that they might be from the other princes, that had their territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the manner of his ships, having no galleys, nor the experience of his pilots and mariners, could be so apt for those seas as theirs. And therefore that his holiness might do well to move one of those other kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by sea. Whereby both all things would be sooner put in readiness, and with less charge, and the emulation and division of command, which might grow between those kings of France and Spain, if they should both join in the war by land upon Græcia, might be wisely avoided; and that for his part he would not be wanting in aids and contribution. Yet, notwithstanding, if both these kings should refuse, rather than his holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him as soon as he could be ready; always provided, that he might first see all differences of the Christian princes amongst themselves fully laid down and appeased, as for his own part he was in none, and that he might have some good towns upon the coast in Italy put into his hands, for the retreat and safeguard of his men."

With this answer Jasper Pons returned, nothing at all discontented; and yet this declaration of the king, as superficial as it was, gave him that reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the knights of Rhodes protector of their order; all things multiplying to honour in a prince, that had gotten such high estimation for his wisdom and sufficiency.

There were these two last years some proceedings against heretics, which was rare in this king's reign, and rather by penances than by fire. The king had, though he were no

good schoolman, the honour to convert one of them by dispute at Canterbury.

This year, also, though the king were no more haunted with sprites, for that by the sprinkling, partly of blood and partly of water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain apparitions that troubled him, still showing themselves from one region, which was the house of York. It came so to pass, that the earl of Suffolk, son to Elizabeth, eldest sister to king Edward the Fourth, by John, duke of Suffolk, her second husband, and brother to John, earl of Lincoln, that was slain at Stokefield, being of a hasty and choleric disposition, had killed a man in his fury; whereupon the king gave him his pardon. But, either willing to leave a cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his grace, produced him openly to plead his pardon. This wrought in the earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do; for the ignominy printed deeper than the grace. Wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into Flanders unto his aunt the duchess of Burgundy. The king startled at it; but, being taught by troubles to use fair and timely remedies, wrought so with him by messages, the Lady Margaret also growing, by often failing in her alchemy, weary of her experiments; and partly being a little sweetened, for that the king had not touched her name in the confession of Perkin, that he came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the king.

In the beginning of the next year, being the seventeenth of the king, the Lady Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinando and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, arrived in England at Plymouth the second of October, and was married to Prince Arthur in Paul's the fourteenth of November following; the prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the lady about eighteen. The manner of her receiving, the manner of her entry into London, and the celebrity of the marriage, were performed with great and true magnificence, in regard of cost, show, and order. The chief man that took the care was bishop Fox, who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the active part, belonging to the service of the court or state of a great king. This marriage was

almost seven years in treaty, which was in part caused by the tender years of the marriage couple, especially of the prince; but the true reason was, that these two princes, being princes of great policy and profound judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's fortunes, how they would go; knowing well, that in the mean time the very treaty itself gave abroad in the world a reputation of a strait conjunction and amity between them, which served on both sides to many purposes that their several affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the fortunes of both the princes did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them they saw no better conditions, they shut it up.

The marriage money the princess brought, which was turned over to the king by act of renunciation, was two hundred thousand ducats; whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments annual; but part of it to be in jewels and plate, and a due course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The jointure or advancement of the lady, was the third part of the principality of Wales, and of the dukedom of Cornwall, and of the earldom of Chester, to be after set forth in severality; and in case she came to be queen of England, her advancement was left indefinite, but thus,—that it should be as great as ever any former queen of England had.

In all the devices and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of astronomy: the lady being resembled to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus, and the old King Alphonsus, that was the great astronomer of kings, and was ancestor to the lady, was brought in, to be the fortune-teller of the match. And whosoever had those toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical: but you may be sure, that King Arthur the Britain, and the descent of the Lady Catharine from the house of Lancaster, was in no wise forgotten. But as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars; for this young prince, that drew upon him at that time, not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectations of foreigners, after a few months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow castle, where he was sent to keep his

residance and court, as prince of Wales. Of this prince, in respect he died so young, and by reason of his father's manner of education, that did cast no great lustre upon his children, there is little particular memory; only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great princes.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the divorce of King Henry the Eighth from the Lady Catharine did so much busy the world, whether Arthur was bedded with his lady or no, whereby that matter in fact, of carnal knowledge, might be made part of the case. And it is true, that the lady herself denied it, or at least her counsel stood upon it, and would not blanch that advantage, although the plenitude of the pope's power of dispensing was the main question. And this doubt was kept long open, in respect of the two queens that succeeded, Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimations were incompatible one with another, though their succession was settled by act of parliament. And the times that favoured Queen Mary's legitimation would have it believed that there was no carnal knowledge between Arthur and Catharine. Not that they would seem to derogate from the pope's absolute power to dispense even in that case; but only in point of honour, and to make the case more favourable and smooth. And the times that favoured Queen Elizabeth's legitimation, which were the longer and the latter, maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in memory, that it was half a year's time between the creation of Henry prince of Wales and Prince Arthur's death, which was construed to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear whether the Lady Catharine were with child by Prince Arthur or no. Again, the lady herself procured a bull, for the better corroboration of the marriage, with a clause of *vel forsan cognitam*, which was not in the first bull. There was given in evidence also, when the cause of the divorce was handled, a pleasant passage, which was: that in a morning Prince Arthur, upon his up-rising from bed with her, called for drink, which he was not accustomed to do, and finding the gentleman of his chamber that brought him the drink to smile at it, and to note it, he said merrily to him: that he had been in the midst of Spain, which was a hot region, and his journey had made him dry; and

that if the other had been in so hot a clime, he would have been drier than he. Besides, the prince was upon the point of sixteen years of age when he died, and forward, and able in body.

The February following, Henry, duke of York, was created prince of Wales, and earl of Chester and Flint; for the dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by statute. The king also being fast-handed, and loth to part with a second dowry, but chiefly being affectionate both by his nature, and out of politic considerations to continue the alliance with Spain, prevailed with the prince, though not without some reluctation, such as could be in those years, for he was not twelve years of age, to be contracted with the Princess Catharine: the secret providence of God ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes.

The same year were the espousals of James, king of Scotland, with the Lady Margaret, the king's eldest daughter; which was done by proxy, and published at Paul's cross, the five and twentieth of January, and Te Deum solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the joy of the city thereupon showed, by ringing of bells and bonfires, and such other incense of the people, was more than could be expected, in a case of so great and fresh enmity between the nations, especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the war; and therefore might be truly attributed to a secret instinct and inspiring which many times runneth not only in the hearts of princes, but in the pulse and veins of people, touching the happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This marriage was in August following consummated at Edinburgh; the king bringing his daughter as far as Colliweston on the way, and then consigning her to the attendance of the earl of Northumberland, who, with a great troop of lords and ladies of honour, brought her into Scotland, to the king her husband.

This marriage had been in treaty by the space of almost three years from the time that the king of Scotland did first open his mind to Bishop Fox. The sum given in marriage by the king was ten thousand pounds; and the jointure and advancement assured by the king of Scotland was two thousand pounds a year, after King James his death, and one thousand pounds a year in present, for the lady's allowance

or maintenance. This to be set forth in lands, of the best and most certain revenue. During the treaty, it is reported that the king remitted the matter to his council; and that some of the table, in the freedom of counsellors, the king being present, did put the case,—that if God should take the king's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the king of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the king himself replied: that if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less; and that it was a safer union for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question.

The same year was fatal, as well for deaths as marriages, and that with equal temper. For the joys and feasts of the two marriages were compensed with the mournings and funerals of Prince Arthur, of whom we have spoken, and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in childbed in the Tower, and the child lived not long after. There died also that year Sir Reginald Bray, who was noted to have had with the king the greatest freedom of any counsellor; but it was but a freedom the better to set off flattery. Yet he bare more than his just part of envy for the exactions.

At this time the king's estate was very prosperous: secured by the amity of Scotland, strengthened by that of Spain, cherished by that of Burgundy, all domestic troubles quenched, and all noise of war, like a thunder afar off, going upon Italy. Wherefore nature, which many times is happily contained and refrained by some bands of fortune, began to take place in the king; carrying, as with a strong tide, his affections and thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of treasure. And as kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour, he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. Those two per-

sons being lawyers in science, and privy counsellors in authority, as the corruption of the best things is the worst, turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. For first, their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them; and nevertheless not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer, but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and terrors to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations.

Neither did they, towards the end, observe so much as the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indictment; but sent forth their precepts to attach men and convent them before themselves, and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission, and there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination, without trial of jury, assuming to themselves there to deal both in pleas of the crown and controversies civil.

Then did they also use to inthral and charge the subjects lands with tenures *in capite*, by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seizins, and alienations, being the fruits of those tenures, refusing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false offices according to the law. Nay, the king's wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also vex men with informations of intrusion, upon scarce colourable titles.

When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of law, which upon outlawries giveth forfeiture of goods; nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained the king ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in case of outlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct, and if they did not, convent them, imprison them, and fine them.

These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than

repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance. But their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete; but raked over all old and new statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than of rigour, having ever a rabble of promoters, questmongers, and leading jurors at their command, so as they could have anything found either for fact or valuation.

There remaineth to this day a report that the king was on a time entertained by the earl of Oxford, that was his principal servant both for war and peace, nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham: and at the king's going away, the earl's servants stood, in a seemly manner, in their livery coats, with cognizances, ranged on both sides, and made the king a lane. The king called the earl to him, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech: these handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants." The earl smiled, and said, "It may please your grace, that were not for mine own ease: they are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight; my attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report, that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks. And to show farther the king's extreme diligence, I do remember to have seen long since a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the king's hand almost to every leaf by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this remembrance;—

"Item, Received of such a one five marks, for a pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid: except the party be some other ways satisfied."

And over against this *Memorandum*, of the king's own hand,

"Otherwise satisfied."

Which I do the rather mention, because it shows in the king a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver, as it seemeth, helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank.

But meanwhile, to keep the king awake, the earl of Suffolk, having been too gay at Prince Arthur's marriage, and sunk himself deep in debt, had yet once more a mind to be a knight-errant, and to seek adventures in foreign parts, and taking his brother with him, fled again into Flanders. That, no doubt, which gave him confidence, was the great murmur of the people against the king's government; and being a man of a light and rash spirit, he thought every vapour would be a tempest. Neither wanted he some party within the kingdom; for the murmur of people awakes the discontents of nobles; and again, that calleth up commonly some head of sedition. The king resorting to his wonted and tried arts, caused Sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle at Hammes, being at that time beyond sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the king, to fly from his charge, and to feign himself a servant of the earl's. This knight, having insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either hope or hold, advertised the king thereof in great secresy; but nevertheless maintained his own credit and inward trust with the earl. Upon whose advertisements, the king attached William Courtney, earl of Devonshire, his brother-in-law, married to the Lady Catharine, daughter to King Edward the Fourth; William De la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tirrel, and Sir John Windham, and some other meaner persons, and committed them to custody. George Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less suspicion, so in a freer restraint, and were soon after delivered. The earl of Devonshire, being interested in the blood of York, that was rather feared than nocent; yet as one that might be the object of others' plots and designs, remained prisoner in the Tower, during the king's life. William De la Pole was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for Sir James Tirrel, against whom the blood of the innocent princes, Edward the Fifth and his brother, did still "cry from under the altar," and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two

knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the credit of Curson, who belike had not yet done all his feats of activity, there was published at Paul's Cross, about the time of the said executions, the pope's bull of excommunication and curse against the earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson, and some others by name; and likewise in general against all the abettors of the said earl: wherein it must be confessed that heaven was made too much to bow to earth, and religion to policy. But soon after, Curson, when he saw the time, returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the king, but worse fame with the people. Upon whose return the earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of hopes, the Lady Margaret also, by tract of time and bad success, being now become cool in those attempts, after some wandering in France and Germany, and certain little projects, no better than squibs of an exiled man, being tired out, retired again into the protection of the Archduke Philip, in Flanders, who by the death of Isabella was at that time king of Castile in the right of Joan his wife.

This year, being the nineteenth of his reign, the king called his parliament; wherein a man may easily guess how absolute the king took himself to be with his parliament, when Dudley, that was so hateful, was made speaker of the House of Commons. In this parliament there were not made any statutes memorable touching public government; but those that were, had still the stamp of the king's wisdom and policy.

There was a statute made for the disannulling of all patents of lease or grant, to such as came not upon lawful summons to serve the king in his wars, against the enemies or rebels, or that should depart without the king's licence; with an exception of certain persons of the long robe; providing nevertheless that they should have the king's wages from their house, till their return home again. There had been the like made before for offices, and by this statute it was extended to lands. But a man may easily see by many statutes made in this king's time, that the king thought it safest to assist martial law by law of parliament.

Another statute was made prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself, or mixt with any

other thread. But it was not of stuffs of whole piece, for that the realm had of them no manufacture in use at that time, but of knit silk, or texture of silk, as ribbons, laces, cauls, points, and girdles, &c., which the people of England could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle: "That where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited;" for that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.

There was a law also of resumption of patents of gaols, and the reannexing of them to the sheriffwicks; privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice than privileged places.

There was likewise a law to restrain the by-laws, or ordinances of corporations, which many times were against the prerogative of the king, the common law of the realm, and the liberty of the subject, being fraternities in evil. It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in execution, without the allowance of the chancellor, treasurer, and the two chief justices, or three of them, or of the two justices of circuit where the corporation was.

Another law was, in effect, to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired coins of silver, not to be current in payments; without giving any remedy of weight, but with an exception only of reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the uncertainty; and so, upon the matter, to set the mint on work, and to give way to new coins of silver, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long statute against vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted: the one, the dislike the parliament had of gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open example; the other, that in the statutes of this king's time, for this of the nineteenth year is not the only statute of that kind, there are ever coupled the punishment of vagabonds, and forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games, unto servants and mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of alehouses, as strings of one root together, and as if the one were unprofitable without the other.

As for riot and retainers, there passed scarce any parliament in this time without a law against them: the king ever having an eye to might and multitude.

There was granted also that parliament a subsidy, both from the temporality and the clergy. And yet, nevertheless, ere the year expired, there went out commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars nor fears. The same year the city gave five thousand marks for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of kings' reigns, than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter that the mint gained upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half-groats, now twelve-pences and six-pences. As for Empson and Dudley's mills, they did grind more than ever: so that it was a strange thing to see what golden showers poured down upon the king's treasury at once,—the last payments of the marriage-money from Spain, the subsidy, the benevolence, the recoinage, the redemption of the city's liberties, the casualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the king had then no occasions at all of wars or troubles. He had now but one son and one daughter unbestowed. He was wise; he was of a high mind; he needed not to make riches his glory; he did excel in so many things else; save that certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter of ambition. Belike he thought to leave his son such a kingdom, and such a mass of treasure, as he might choose his greatness where he would.

This year was also kept the serjeant's feast, which was the second call in this king's days.

About this time Isabella, queen of Castile, deceased; a right noble lady, and an honour to her sex and times, and the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain that hath followed. This accident the king took not for news at large, but thought it had a great relation to his own affairs, especially in two points, the one for example, the other for consequence. First, he conceived that the case of Ferdinando of Aragon, after the death of Queen Isabella, was his own case after the death of his own queen; and the case of Joan, the heir unto Castile, was the case of his own son prince Henry. For if both of the kings had their kingdoms in the right of their wives, they descended to the heirs, and did not accrue

to the husbands. And although his own case had both steel and parchment more than the other, that is to say, a conquest in the field and an act of parliament, yet notwithstanding, that natural title of descent in blood did, in the imagination even of a wise man, breed a doubt that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent to inquire and observe what became of the king of Aragon, in holding and continuing the kingdom of Castile; and whether he did hold it in his own right, or as administrator to his daughter; and whether he were like to hold it in fact, or to be put out by his son-in-law. Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the state of Christendom might by this late accident have a turn; for whereas before time, himself, with the conjunction of Aragon and Castile, which then was one, and the amity of Maximilian and Philip his son the archduke, was far too strong a party for France; he began to fear, that now the French king, who had great interest in the affections of Philip, the young king of Castile, and Philip himself, now king of Castile, who was in ill terms with his father-in-law about the present government of Castile, and thirdly, Maximilian, Philip's father, who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest aim that could be taken was, that he would not be long as he had been last before, would all three, being potent princes, enter into some strait league and confederation among themselves; whereby, though he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poor amity of Aragon; and whereas he had been heretofore a kind of arbiter of Europe, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a conjunction. He had also, as it seems, an inclination to marry, and bethought himself of some fit conditions abroad; and amongst others he had heard of the beauty and virtuous behaviour of the young queen of Naples, the widow of Ferdinando the younger, being then of matronal years of seven and twenty; by whose marriage he thought that the kingdom of Naples, having been a goal for a time between the king of Aragon and the French king, and being but newly settled, might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keep the stakes. Therefore he sent in ambassage or message three confident persons, Francis Marsin, James Braybrooke, and John Stile, upon two several inquisitions rather than negotia-

tions; the one touching the person and condition of the young queen of Naples, the other touching all particulars of estate that concerned the fortunes and intentions of Ferdinando. And because they may observe best, who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable pretexts; giving them letters of kindness and compliment from Catharine, the princess, to her aunt and niece, the old and young queen of Naples, and delivering to them also a book of new articles of peace; which, notwithstanding it had been delivered unto Doctor de Puebla, the lieger ambassador of Spain here in England, to be sent; yet for that the king had been long without hearing from Spain, he thought good those messengers, when they had been with the two queens, should likewise pass on to the court of Ferdinando, and take a copy of the book with them. The instructions touching the queen of Naples were so curious and exquisite, being as articles whereby to direct a survey, or framing a particular of her person, for complexion, favour, feature, stature, health, age, customs, behaviour, conditions, and estate, as, if the king had been young, a man would have judged him to be amorous; but, being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was very chaste, for that he meant to find all things in one woman, and so to settle his affections without ranging. But in this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his ambassadors, that this young queen had had a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her uncle Frederick, yea, and during the time of Lewis the French king, in whose division her revenue fell; but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands, all was assigned to the army and garrisons there, and she received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.

The other part of the inquiry had a grave and diligent return, informing the king at full of the present state of King Ferdinando. By this report it appeared to the king, that Ferdinando did continue the government of Castile, as administrator unto his daughter Joan, by the title of Queen Isabella's will, and partly by the custom of the kingdom, as he pretended. And that all mandates and grants were expedited in the name of Joan, his daughter, and himself as administrator, without mention of Philip, her husband. And that King Ferdinando, howsoever he did dismiss himself of

the name of king of Castile, yet meant to hold the kingdom without account, and in absolute command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King Philip would permit unto him the government of Castile during his life; which he had laid his plot to work him unto, both by some counsellors of his about him, which Ferdinando had at his devotion, and chiefly by promise, that in case Philip gave not way unto it, he would marry some young lady, whereby to put him by the succession of Aragon and Granada, in case he should have a son; and lastly, by representing unto him that the government of the Burgundians, till Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, would not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things, though wisely laid down and considered, Ferdinando failed; but that Pluto was better to him than Pallas.

In the same report, also, the ambassadors being mean men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous; for they declared plainly, that the people of Spain, both nobles and commons, were better affected unto the part of Philip, so he brought his wife with him, than to Ferdinando; and expressed the reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many taxes and tallages, which was the king's own case between him and his son.

There was also in this report a declaration of an overture of marriage, which Amason, the secretary of Ferdinando, had made unto the ambassadors in great secret, between Charles, prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter; assuring the king that the treaty of marriage then on foot for the said prince and the daughter of France would break; and that she the said daughter of France should be married to Angolesme, that was the heir apparent of France.

There was a touch also of a speech of marriage between Ferdinando and Madame de Fois, a lady of the blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in France, and silenced in Spain.

The king, by the return of this ambassage, which gave great light unto his affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between Ferdinando, king of Aragon, and Philip, his son-in-law, king of Castile; resolving with himself to do all that in him lay, to keep them at one within

themselves; but howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate carriage, and bearing the person of a common friend, to lose neither of their friendships; but yet to run a course more entire with the king of Aragon, but more laboured and officious with the king of Castile. But he was much taken with the overture of marriage with his daughter Mary; both because it was the greatest marriage of Christendom, and for that it took hold of both allies.

But to corroborate his alliance with Philip, the winds gave him an interview; for Philip choosing the winter season, the better to surprise the king of Aragon, set forth with a great navy out of Flanders for Spain, in the month of January, the one-and-twentieth year of the king's reign. But himself was surprised with a cruel tempest, that scattered his ships upon the several coasts of England; and the ship wherein the king and queen were, with two other small barks only, torn and in great peril, to escape the fury of the weather, thrust into Weymouth. King Philip himself, having not been used, as it seems, to sea, all wearied and extreme sick, would needs land to refresh his spirits, though it was against the opinion of his council, doubting it might breed delay, his occasions requiring celerity.

The rumour of the arrival of a puissant navy upon the coast made the country arm. And Sir Thomas Trenchard, with forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might be, came to Weymouth. Where, understanding the accident, he did in all humbleness and humanity invite the king and queen to his house; and forthwith despatched posts to the court. Soon after came Sir John Carew likewise, with a great troop of men well armed; using the like humbleness and respects towards the king, when he knew the case. King Philip, doubting that they being but subjects, durst not let him pass away again without the king's notice and leave, yielded to their entreaties to stay till they heard from the court. The king, as soon as he heard the news, commanded presently the earl of Arundel to go to visit the king of Castile, and let him understand that as he was very sorry for his mishap, so he was glad that he had escaped the danger of the seas, and likewise of the occasion himself had to do him honour; and desiring him to think himself as in his own land; and that the king made all haste

possible to come and embrace him. The earl came to him in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horse; and, for more state, came by torch-light. After he had done the king's message, King Philip, seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the king at Windsor, and his queen followed by easy journeys. The two kings, at their meeting, used all the caresses and loving demonstrations that were possible. And the king of Castile said pleasantly to the king, "That he was now punished for that he would not come within his walled town of Calais, when they met last." But the king answered, "That walls and seas were nothing where hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwise but to be served." After a day or two's refreshing, the kings entered into speech of renewing the treaty; the kings saying, that though King Philip's person were the same, yet his fortunes and state were raised; in which case a renovation of treaty was used amongst princes. But while these things were in handling, the king choosing a fit time, and drawing the king of Castile into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his countenance a little from a countenance of entertainment, said to him, "Sir, you have been saved upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours." The king of Castile asked him what he meant by that speech? "I mean it," saith the king, "by that same harebrain wild fellow, my subject, the earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool, when all others are weary of it." The king of Castile answered, "I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him." The king replied, "Those hornets were best in their nest, and worst when they did fly abroad; and that his desire was to have him delivered to him." The king of Castile, herewith a little confused, and in a study, said, "That can I not do with my honour, and less with yours; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." The king presently said, "Then the matter is at an end, for I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved." The king of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the king's amity, for that himself was

new in his estate of Spain, and unsettled both with his father-in law and with his people, composing his countenance, said, "Sir, you give law to me, but so will I to you. You shall have him, but, upon your honour, you shall not take his life." The king, embracing him, said, "Agreed." Saith the king of Castile, "Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as he may partly come with his own good will." The king said, "It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would join with him, in sending to the earl a message to that purpose." They both sent severally, and meanwhile they continued feasting and pastimes. The king being, on his part, willing to have the earl sure before the king of Castile went; and the king of Castile being as willing to seem to be enforced. The king also, with many wise and excellent persuasions, did advise the king of Castile to be ruled by the counsel of his father-in-law Ferdinando; a prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The king of Castile, who was in no very good terms with his said father-in-law, answered, "That if his father-in-law would suffer him to govern his kingdoms, he should govern him."

There were immediately messengers sent from both kings, to recall the earl of Suffolk, who, upon gentle words used to him, was soon charmed, and willing enough to return; assured of his life, and hoping of his liberty. He was brought through Flanders to Calais, and thence landed at Dover, and, with sufficient guard, delivered and received at the Tower of London. Meanwhile, King Henry, to draw out the time, continued his feastings and entertainments, and after he had received the king of Castile into the fraternity of the Garter, and for a reciprocal had his son, the prince, admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece, he accompanied King Philip and his queen to the city of London; where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence and triumph, that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower, which was the serious part, the jollities had an end, and the kings took leave. Nevertheless, during their being here, they, in substance, concluded that treaty, which the Flemings term "intercursus malus," and bears date at Windsor: for there be some things in it more to the advantage of the English, than of them; especially, for that the free fishing of the

Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of "undecimo," was not by this treaty confirmed. All articles that confirm former treaties being precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observed that the great tempest which drove Philip into England, blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Paul's, and in the fall, it fell upon a sign of the black eagle, which was in Paul's churchyard, in the place where the school-house now standeth, and battered it, and brake it down; which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl. This the people interpreted to be an ominous prognostic upon the imperial house, which was, by interpretation also, fulfilled upon Philip, the emperor's son, not only in the present disaster of the tempest, but in that that followed; for Philip arriving into Spain, and attaining the possession of the kingdom of Castile without resistance, insomuch as Ferdinando, who had spoke so great before, was with difficulty admitted to the speech of his son-in-law, sickened soon after, and deceased. Yet after such time, as there was an observation by the wisest of that court, that if he had lived, his father would have gained upon him in that sort, as he would have governed his councils and designs, if not his affections. By this, all Spain returned into the power of Ferdinando in state, as it was before; the rather, in regard of the infirmity of Joan his daughter, who loving her husband, by whom she had many children, dearly well, and no less beloved of him, howsoever her father, to make Philip ill-beloved of the people of Spain, gave out that Philip used her not well, was unable in strength of mind to bear the grief of his decease, and fell distracted of her wits. Of which malady, her father was thought no ways to endeavour the cure, the better to hold his legal power in Castile. So that, as the felicity of Charles the Eighth was said to be a dream, so the adversity of Ferdinando was said likewise to be a dream, it passed over so soon.

About this time, the king was desirous to bring into the house of Lancaster celestial honour, and became suitor to Pope Julius to canonize King Henry the Sixth for a saint; the rather, in respect of that his famous prediction of the king's own assumption to the crown. Julius referred the

matter, as the manner is, to certain cardinals, to take the verification of his holy acts and miracles; but it died under the reference. The general opinion was, that Pope Julius was too dear, and that the king would not come to his rates. But it is more probable, that that pope, who was extremely jealous of the dignity of the See of Rome, and of the acts thereof, knowing that King Henry the Sixth was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints.

The same year, likewise, there proceeded a treaty of marriage between the king and the Lady Margaret, duchess dowager of Savoy, only daughter to Maximilian, and sister to the king of Castile; a lady wise, and of great good fame. This matter had been in speech between the two kings at their meeting, but was soon after resumed; and therein was employed, for his first piece, the king's then chaplain, and after the great prelate, Thomas Wolsey. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample conditions for the king, but with promise *de futuro* only. It may be the king was the rather induced unto it, for that he had heard more and more of the marriage to go on between his great friend and ally, Ferdinando of Aragon, and Madame de Fois, whereby that king began to piece with the French king, from whom he had been always before severed. So fatal a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest amities of kings at one time or other, to have a little of the wheel; nay, there is a farther tradition in Spain, though not with us, that the king of Aragon, after he knew that the marriage between Charles, the young prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter, went roundly on, which, though it was first moved by the king of Aragon, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by Maximilian, and the friends on that side entered into a jealousy, that the king did aspire to the government of Castilia, as administrator during the minority of his son-in-law, as if there should have been a competition of three for that government: Ferdinando, grandfather on the mother's side; Maximilian, grandfather on the father's side; and King Henry, father-in-law to the young prince. Certainly, it is not unlike; but the king's government, carrying the young prince with him, would

have been, perhaps, more welcome to the Spaniards, than that of the other two. For the nobility of Castilia, that so lately put out the king of Aragon in favour of king Philip, and had discovered themselves so far, could not be but in a secret distrust and distaste of that king; and as for Maximilian, upon twenty respects, he could not have been the man. But this purpose of the king's seemeth to me, considering the king's safe courses, never found to be enterprising or adventurous, not greatly probable, except he should have had a desire to breathe warmer, because he had ill lungs. This marriage with Margaret was protracted from time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the king, who now, in the two-and-twentieth of his reign, began to be troubled with the gout; but the defluxion taking also into his breast, wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year, in a kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labours of the phthisic; nevertheless, he continued to intend business with as great diligence, as before in his health; yet so, as upon this warning, he did likewise now more seriously think of the world to come, and of making himself a saint, as well as King Henry the Sixth, by treasure better employed, than to be given to Pope Julius; for, this year, he gave greater alms than accustomed, and discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. He did also make haste with religious foundations; and in the year following, which was the three-and-twentieth, finished that of the Savoy. And hearing also of the bitter cries of his people against the oppressions of Dudley and Empson, and their complices, partly by devout persons about him, and partly by public sermons, the preachers doing their duty therein, he was touched with great remorse for the same. Nevertheless, Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the king's conscience, yet, as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever; for the same three and twentieth year was there a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capel, now the second time, and this was for matters of misgovernment in his mayoralty; the great matter being, that in some payments he had taken knowledge of false moneys, and did

not his diligence to examine and beat it out, who were the offenders. For this, and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds ; and being a man of stomach, and hardened by his former troubles, refused to pay a mite ; and, belike, used some untoward speeches of the proceedings, for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the king's death. Knesworth likewise, that had been lately mayor of London, and both his sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered upon one thousand four hundred pounds paid. Hawis, an alderman of London, was put in trouble, and died with thought and anguish, before his business came to an end. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were put to the fine of one thousand pounds. And Sir Lawrence, for refusing to make payment, was committed to prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place.

It is no marvel, if the faults were so light, and the rates so heavy, that the king's treasure of store, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted, as by tradition it is reported to have done, unto the sum of near eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling ; a huge mass of money even for these times.

The last act of state that concluded this king's temporal felicity, was the conclusion of a glorious match between his daughter Mary, and Charles, prince of Castile, afterwards the great emperor, both being of tender years ; which treaty was perfected by Bishop Fox, and other his commissioners at Calais, the year before the king's death. In which alliance, it seemeth, he himself took so high contentment, as in a letter which he wrote thereupon to the city of London, commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same, he expresseth himself, as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom : when he had for his sons-in-law, a king of Scotland and a prince of Castile and Burgundy. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great king's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss, in regard of the high marriages of his children, his great renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible

riches, and the perpetual constancy of his prosperous successes, but an opportune death, to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune; which certainly (in regard of the great hatred of his people, and the title of his son, being then come to eighteen years of age, and being a bold prince and liberal, and that gained upon the people by his very aspect and presence), had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To crown also the last year of his reign, as well as his first, he did an act of piety, rare, and worthy to be taken into imitation. For he granted forth a general pardon; as expecting a second coronation in a better kingdom. He did also declare in his will, that his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers.

And thus this Solomon of England, for Solomon also was too heavy upon his people in exactions, having lived two and fifty years, and thereof reigned three-and-twenty years and eight months, being in perfect memory, and in a most blessed mind, in a great calm of a consuming sickness passed to a better world, the two-and-twentieth of April, 1508, at his palace of Richmond, which himself had built.

This king, to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving, was one of the best sort of wonders; a wonder for wise men. He had parts, both in his virtues and his fortune, not so fit for a common-place, as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear, for those times, through superstition, so he would be blinded, now and then, by human policy. He advanced churchmen: he was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy; and yet was he a great almsgiver in secret; which showed, that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own.

He professed always to love and seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world, peace was sung; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness, for he was valiant and active, and therefore, no doubt, it was truly Christian and moral.

Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars; therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace, should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Audley, were ended by victory. The wars of France and Scotland, by peaces sought at his hands. That of Britain, by accident of the duke's death. The insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter, and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his fortune of arms was still inviolate: the rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects, he ever went in person: sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action; and yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws; which nevertheless, was no impediment to him to work his will, for it was so handled, that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his parliament. For mint, and wars, and martial discipline, things of absolute power, he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the king was party; save also that the council-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*. For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning; but in that part both of justice and policy, which is the durable part, and cut, as it were, in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice, he was also a merciful prince; as in whose time, there were but three of the nobility that suffered: the earl of Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Audley: though the first two were instead of numbers, in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood, drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were

taken in Kent, it was but upon a scum of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and unexpected pardons, with severe executions; which, his wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality, but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure. And as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people, into whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies, a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers, did impute this unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who, as it after appeared, as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them; whereas Empson and Dudley, that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only, as the first did, but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his people; some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs, and to keep them low; some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece; some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts: but those perhaps shall come nearest the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off, but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great princes abroad, it did the better, by comparison, set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required; and in his buildings was

magnificent, but his rewards were very limited: so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory, than upon the deserts of others.

He was of a high mind, and loved his own will, and his own way; as one that revered himself, and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man, he would have been termed proud. But in a wise prince, it was but keeping of distance, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach, either to his power, or to his secrets, for he was governed by none. His queen, notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it, could do nothing with him. His mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society, such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth, he had none; except we should account for such persons, Fox, and Bray, and Empson, because they were so much with him; but it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible, that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain glory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open. But rather such was his inquiry, and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them; yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies, or emulations upon foreign princes, which are frequent with many kings, he had never any; but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is, that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad; for foreigners, that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here; which were attending the court in great number; whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward, and privateness, but, upon such conferences as passed with them, put them in admiration, to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world; which though he did suck chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had

gathered from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms, concerning his wisdom and art of rule; nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him. Such a dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad; wherein he did not only use his interest in the liegers here, and his pensioners, which he had both in the court of Rome, and other the courts of Christendom, but the industry and vigilance of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose his instructions were ever extreme, curious, and articulate; and in them more articles touching inquisition, than touching negotiation; requiring likewise from his ambassadors an answer, in particular distinct articles, respectively to his questions.

As for his secret spials, which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what practices and conspiracies were against him, surely his case required it; he had such moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended; for if spials be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained; for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this farther good in his employing of these flies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of them kept, no doubt, many conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his queen he was nothing uxorious, nor scarce indulgent; but companiable and respective, and without jealousy. Towards his children he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them.

To his council he did refer much, and sat oft in person; knowing it to be the way to assist his power, and inform his judgment. In which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty, both of advice, and of vote, till himself were declared. He kept a straight hand on his nobility, and

chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as, I am persuaded, it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign; for that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis the Eleventh was; but contrariwise, he was served by the ablest men that were to be found; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, D'Aubigny, Brooke, Poynings; for other affairs, Morton, Fox, Bray, the prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussey, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ; for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well; for it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles, yet in twenty-four years' reign, he never put down, or discomposed counsellor, or near servant, save only Stanley, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him: that of the three affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereigns, love, fear, and reverence, he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholden to the other two.

He was a prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts, and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons; as, whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale, that his monkey, set on as it was thought by one of his chamber, tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth; whereat the court, which liked not those pensive accounts, was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions; but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but

trouble himself more than others. It is true, his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at sometimes weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that rumour which did him so much mischief, that the duke of York should be saved, and alive, was, at the first, of his own nourishing; because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was affable, and both well and fair spoken; and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he desired to effect or persuade anything that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned, reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue; yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them; and yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile, touching the queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by pleasures, as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them more of himself; insomuch as in triumphs of justs and tourneys, and balls, and masks, which they then called disguises, he was rather a princely and gentle spectator, than seem much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him, as in all men, and most of all in kings, his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation, but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers, when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes—rather strong at hand, than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more, if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his

foresight, or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was, certain it is, that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes, there being no more matter out of which they grew, could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs, and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth for Louis the Eleventh, who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the *tres magi* of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was long of himself: for what he minded he compassed.

He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like a churchman; and as it was not strange, or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret, his mother, had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night, that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund, earl of Richmond, the king's father, for her husband, neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth, whose innocency gave him holiness, was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said: "This is the lad that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for." But that, that was truly divine in him was that he had the fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great king, in living exercised, and dying repentant; so as he had a happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monu-

ments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

After the decease of that wise and fortunate king, Henry the Seventh, who died in the height of his prosperity, there followed, as useth to do, when the sun setteth so exceeding clear, one of the fairest mornings of a kingdom that hath been known in this land, or anywhere else. A young king, about eighteen years of age, for stature, strength, making, and beauty, one of the goodliest persons of his time. And though he were given to pleasure, yet he was likewise desirous of glory; so that there was a passage open in his mind, by glory, for virtue. Neither was he unadorned with learning, though therein he came short of his brother Arthur. He had never any the least pique, difference, or jealousy, with the king his father, which might give any occasion of altering court or council upon the change; but all things passed in a still. He was the first heir of the white and red rose; so that there was no discontented party now left in the kingdom, but all men's hearts turned towards him; and not only their hearts, but their eyes also; for he was the only son of the kingdom. He had no brother; which, though it be a comfortable thing for kings to have, yet it draweth the subjects' eyes a little aside. And yet, being a married man in those young years, it promised hope of speedy issue to succeed in the crown. Neither was there any queen mother, who might share any way in the government, or clash with his counsellors for authority, while the king intended his pleasure. No such thing as any

great and mighty subject, who might any way eclipse or overshade the imperial power. And for the people and state in general, they were in such lowness of obedience, as subjects were like to yield, who had lived almost four-and-twenty years under so politic a king as his father; being also one who came partly in by the sword; and had so high a courage in all points of regality; and was ever victorious in rebellions and seditions of the people. The crown extremely rich and full of treasure, and the kingdom like to be so in a short time. For there was no war, no dearth, no stop of trade, or commerce; it was only the crown which had sucked too hard, and now, being full, and upon the head of a young king, was like to draw less. Lastly, he was inheritor of his father's reputation, which was great throughout the world. He had strait alliance with the two neighbour states, an ancient enemy in former times, and an ancient friend,—Scotland and Burgundy. He had peace and amity with France, under the assurance, not only of treaty and league, but of necessity and inability in the French to do him hurt, in respect that the French king's designs were wholly bent upon Italy; so that it may be truly said, there had scarcely been seen or known, in many ages, such a rare concurrence of signs and promises, and of a happy and flourishing reign to ensue, as were now met in this young king, called after his father's name, Henry the Eighth.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Both nature and fortune conspired to render Queen Elizabeth the ambition of her sex, and an ornament to crowned heads. This is not a subject for the pen of a monk, or any such cloistered writer. For such men, though keen in style, are attached to their party; and transmit things of this nature unfaithfully to posterity. Certainly this is a province for men of the first rank; or such as have sate at the helm of states; and been acquainted with the depths and secrets of civil affairs.

All ages have esteemed a female government a rarity; a prosperous, a wonder; and if both long and prosperous, almost a miracle. But this lady reigned forty-four years complete, yet did not outlive her felicity. Of this felicity I purpose to say somewhat, without running into praises; for praise is the tribute of men, but felicity the gift of God.

And first, I account it a part of her felicity, that she was advanced to the throne from a private fortune. For it is implanted in the nature of men, to esteem unexpected success an additional felicity. But what I mean, is, that princes educated in courts, as the undoubted heirs of a crown, are corrupted by indulgence, and thence generally rendered less capable, and less moderate in the management of affairs. And, therefore, we find those the best rulers, who are disciplined by both fortunes. Such was, with us, King Henry the Seventh, and with the French, Louis the Twelfth, who both of them came to the crown almost at the same time, not only from a private, but also from an adverse and rugged fortune; and the former proved famous for his prudence, the other for his justice. In the same manner this princess also had the dawn of her fortune chequered, but in her reign it proved unusually constant and steady. From her birth, she was entitled to the succession, but afterwards disinherited, and then postponed. In the reign of her brother, her fortune was more favourable and serene; but in the reign of her sister, more hazardous and tempestuous. Nor was she advanced on a sudden from a prison to the throne, which might have made her haughty and vindictive, but being restored to her liberty, and still growing in hopes, at last in a happy calm, she obtained the crown without opposition or competitor. And this I mention to show that Divine Providence intending an excellent princess, prepared and advanced her by such degrees of discipline.

Nor ought the misfortunes of her mother to sully the glory of her birth, especially, because it is evident that King Henry the Eighth was engaged in a new amour before his rage kindled against Queen Anne; and because the temper of that king is censured by posterity, as exceedingly prone both to amours and jealousies, and violent in both, even to the effusion of blood. Add to this, that she was cut off through an accusation manifestly improbable, and built upon

slight conjectures, as was then secretly whispered; and Queen Anne herself protested her innocence with an undaunted greatness of mind, at the time of her death. For, by a faithful and generous messenger, as she supposed, she, just before her execution, sent this message to the king: "That his majesty constantly held on in his purpose of heaping new honours upon her, for that first he raised her from a private gentlewoman, to the honour of a marchioness; next advanced her into a partnership of his bed and kingdom; and when now there remained no higher earthly honour, he designed to promote her an innocent to the crown of martyrdom." But the messenger durst not carry this to the king, now plunged in a new amour; though fame, the asserter of truth, has transmitted it to posterity.

Again, it is no inconsiderable part of Queen Elizabeth's felicity, that the course of her reign was not only long, but fell within that season of her life which is fittest for governing. Thus she began her reign at twenty-five, and continued it to the seventieth year of her age. So that she neither felt the harshness of a minority, the checks of a governor's power, nor the inconveniences of extreme old age, which is attended with miseries enough in private men, but in crowned heads, besides the ordinary miseries, it usually occasions a decay of the government, and ends with an inglorious exit. For scarce any king has lived to extreme old age, without suffering some diminution in empire and esteem. Of this we have an eminent instance in Philip the Second, king of Spain, a potent prince, and admirably versed in the arts of government, who, in the decline of life, was thoroughly sensible of this misfortune, and therefore wisely submitted to the necessity of things, voluntarily quitted his acquisitions in France, established a firm peace with that kingdom, and attempted the like with others, that so he might leave all quiet and composed to his successor. Queen Elizabeth's fortune, on the contrary, was so constant and fixed, that no declension of affairs followed her lively, though declining age; nay, for an assured monument of her felicity, she died not till the rebellion of Ireland ended in a victory, lest her glory should otherwise have appeared any way ruffled or incomplete.

It should likewise be considered over what kind of people she

reigned. For had her empire fallen among the Palmyrenians, or in soft unwarlike Asia, it had been a less wonder, since a female in the throne would have suited an effeminate people; but in England, a hardy military nation, for all things to be directed and governed by a woman, is a matter of the highest admiration.

Yet this temper of her people, eager for war, and impatient of peace, did not prevent her from maintaining it all her reign. And this peaceable disposition of hers joined with success, I reckon one of her chiefest praises; as being happy for her people, becoming her sex, and a satisfaction to her conscience. Indeed, about the tenth year of her reign, there rose a small commotion in the north of her kingdom, but it was presently suppressed. The rest of her reign passed in a secure and profound peace. And I judge it a glorious peace for two reasons, which, though they make nothing to its merit, yet contribute much to its honour. The one, that it was rendered more conspicuous and illustrious by the calamities of our neighbours, as by so many flames about us. The other, that the blessings of peace were not unattended with the glory of arms, since she not only preserved, but advanced the honour of the English name for martial greatness. For what by the supplies she sent into the Netherlands, France, and Scotland; the expeditions by sea to the Indies, and some of them round the world; the fleets sent to infest Portugal, and the coasts of Spain; and what by the frequent conquests and reductions of the Irish rebels, we suffered no decay in the ancient military fame and virtue of our nation.

It is likewise a just addition to her glory, that neighbouring princes were supported in their thrones by her timely aids; and that suppliant states, which, through the misconduct of their kings, were abandoned, devoted to the cruelty of their ministers, the fury of the multitude, and all manner of desolation, were relieved by her.

Nor were her counsels less beneficent than her supplies, as having so often interceded with the king of Spain, to reconcile him to his subjects in the Netherlands, and reduce them to obedience, upon some tolerable conditions. And she, with great sincerity, importuned the kings of France, by repeated admonitions, to observe their own edicts, that pro-

mised peace to their subjects. It is true her advice proved ineffectual, for the common interest of Europe would not allow the first, lest the ambition of Spain being uncurbed, should fly out, as affairs then stood, to the prejudice of the kingdoms and states of Christendom; and the latter was prevented by the massacre of so many innocent men, who, with their wives and children, were butchered in their own houses by the scum of the people, armed and let loose like so many beasts of prey upon them by public authority. This bloodshed cried aloud for vengeance, that the kingdom stained by so horrible an impiety might be expiated by intestine slaughter. However, by interposing, she performed the part of a faithful, prudent, and generous ally.

There is also another reason for admiring this peaceful reign, so much endeavoured and maintained by the queen, viz., that it did not proceed from any disposition of the times, but from her own prudent and discreet conduct. For as she struggled with faction at home upon account of religion, and as the strength and protection of this kingdom was a kind of bulwark to all Europe against the extravagant ambition and formidable power of Spain, there wanted no occasion of war; yet, with her force and policy, she surmounted these difficulties. This appeared by the most memorable event in point of felicity, that ever happened through the whole course of affairs in our time. For when the Spanish Armada entered our seas, to the terror of all Europe, and with such assurance of victory, they took not a single boat of ours, nor burnt the least cottage, nor touched our shore, but were defeated in the engagement, dispersed by a miserable flight, and frequent wrecks, and so left us at home in the enjoyment of an undisturbed peace.

Nor was she less happy in disappointing conspiracies, than in subduing the forces of her open enemies. For several plots against her life were fortunately discovered, and defeated. And yet upon this account, she was not the more fearful or anxious of her person, for she neither doubted her guards, nor confined herself to her palace, but appeared in public as usual, remembering her deliverance, but forgetting her danger.

The nature of the times wherein the flourished must also be considered. For some ages are so barbarous and ignorant,

that men may be as easily governed as sheep. But this princess lived in a learned and polite age, when it was impossible to be eminent without great parts, and a singular habit of virtue.

Again, female reigns are usually eclipsed by marriage, and all the praises thus transferred upon the husband; whilst those who live single appropriate the whole glory to themselves. And this is more peculiarly the case of Queen Elizabeth, because she had no supporters of her government but those of her own making: she had no brother, no uncle, nor any other of the royal family to partake her cares, and share in her administration. And for those she advanced to places of trust, she kept such a tight rein upon them, and so distributed her favours, that she laid each of them under the greatest obligation and concern to please her, whilst she always remained mistress of herself.

She was indeed childless, and left no issue behind her, which has been the case of many fortunate princes, as of Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, &c., and is a disputed point; some taking it for a diminution of felicity, as if men could not be completely happy unless blessed both in their own persons, and in their children; and others accounting it the perfection of felicity, which then alone seems to be complete, when fortune has no more power over it; which, if children are left behind, can never be the case.

She had likewise her outward embellishments; a tall stature, a graceful shape and make, a most majestic aspect, mixed with sweetness, and a happy state of health. Besides all this, she was strong and vigorous to the last; never experienced a reverse of fortune, nor felt the miseries of old age, and obtained that complacency in death which Augustus Cæsar so passionately desired, by a gentle and easy exit. This is also recorded of that excellent emperor, Antoninus Pius, whose death resembled a sweet and gentle slumber. So likewise in the distemper of the queen, there was nothing shocking, nothing presaging, nothing unbecoming of human nature. She was not desirous of life, nor impatient under sickness, nor racked with pain. She had no dire or disagreeable symptom; but all things were of that kind, as argued rather the frailty, than the corruption or disgrace of nature. Being emaciated by an extreme dryness of body, and

the cares that attend a crown, and never refreshed with wine, or with a full and plentiful diet, she was, a few days before her death, struck with a dead-palsy; yet, what is unusual in that distemper, retained, in some degree, her speech, memory, and motion. In this condition she continued but a little while, so that it did not seem the last act of her life, but the first step to her death. For to live long after our faculties are impaired, is accounted miserable; but for death to hasten on with a gradual loss of the senses, is a gentle, a pleasing, and an easy dissolution.

To fill up the measure of her felicity, she was exceeding happy, not only in her own person, but also in the abilities and virtues of her ministers of state; for she had the fortune to meet with such as perhaps this island never before produced at one time. But God, when he favours princes, raises up and adorns the spirits of their ministers also.

There remain two posthumous felicities, which may seem more noble and august than those that attended her living —the one is that of her successor, and the other of her memory; for she had such a successor, who, though he may exceed and eclipse her greatness by his masculine virtues, his issue, and a new accession of empire, yet is zealous of her name and glory, and gives a kind of perpetuity to her acts, having made little change either in the choice of ministers or the method of government, so that a son rarely succeeds a father with less alteration or disturbance.

As for her memory, it is so much in the mouths and so fresh in the minds of men, that envy being extinguished, and her fame lit up by death, the felicity of her memory seems to vie with the felicity of her life; for if through party zeal or difference in religion a factious report be spread abroad, it is neither true nor can be long-lived. And for this reason in particular I have made the present collection of her felicities and the marks of the Divine favour towards her, that no malicious person might dare to curse where God has so highly blessed.

If it should be here objected, as Cicero objected to Cæsar, "We have matter enough to admire, but would gladly see something to praise," I answer, that true admiration is a superlative degree of praise. Nor could that felicity above described be the portion of any, but such as are remarkably

supported and indulged by the Divine favour, and in some measure worked it out by their own morals and virtues. I shall, however, add a word or two as to the morals of the queen, but only in such particulars as have occasioned some malicious tongues to traduce her.

As to her religion, she was pious, moderate, constant, and an enemy to novelty; and for her piety, though the marks of it are most conspicuous in her acts and administrations, yet there were visible marks of it, both in the course of her life and her ordinary conversation. She was seldom absent from divine service and other duties of religion, either in her chapel or closet; she was very conversant in the Scriptures and writings of the fathers, especially St. Augustine. Herself composed certain prayers upon some emergent occasions. When she mentioned the name of God, though in ordinary discourse, she generally added the title of Creator, and composed both her eyes and countenance to some sort of humility and reverence, which I have myself often observed.

As to what some have given out, that she was altogether unmindful of mortality, so as not to bear the mention of old age to death, it is absolutely false, for, several years before her death, she would often facetiously call herself "the old woman," and discourse about what kind of epitaph she liked, adding, that she was no lover of pompous titles, but only desired her name might be recorded in a line or two, which should briefly express "her name, her virginity, the time of her reign, the reformation of religion under it, and her preservation of peace." It is true, in the flower of her age, being importuned to declare her successor, she answered, "That she could by no means endure a shroud to be held before her eyes while she was living." And yet, some years before her death, at a time when she was thoughtful, and probably meditating upon her mortality, one of her familiars mentioning in conversation that several great offices and places in the state were kept vacant too long, she rose up and said, with more than ordinary warmth, "That she was sure her place would not be long vacant."

As to her moderation in religion, it may require some pause, because of the severity of the laws made against her subjects of the Romish persuasion; but I will mention such things as were well known and carefully observed by myself.

It is certain she was in her sentiments averse to the forcing of conscience, yet, on the other hand, she would not suffer the state to be endangered under the pretence of conscience and religion. Hence she concluded, that to allow a liberty and toleration of two religions by public authority in a military and high-mettled nation, that might easily fall from difference in judgment to blows, would be certain destruction. Thus, in the beginning of her reign, when all things looked suspicious, she kept some of the prelates, who were of a more turbulent and factious spirit, prisoners at large, though not without the warrant of the law; but to the rest of both orders she used no severe inquisition, but protected them by a generous connivance. And this was the posture of affairs at first. Nor did she abate much of this clemency, though provoked by the excommunication of Pope Pius Quintus, which might have raised her indignation, and driven her to new measures, but still she retained her own generous temper; for this prudent and courageous lady was not moved with the noise of those terrible threats, being secure of the fidelity and affection of her subjects, and of the inability of the Popish faction within the kingdom to hurt her, unless seconded by a foreign enemy.

But about the three-and-twentieth year of her reign the face of affairs changed. This difference of the times is not artfully feigned to serve a turn, but stands expressed in the public records, and engraven as it were in leaves of brass; for before that year none of her subjects of the Romish religion had been punished with any severity by the laws formerly enacted. But now the ambitious and monstrous designs of Spain, to conquer this kingdom, began by degrees to open themselves; a principal part of which was, by all public ways and means, to raise a faction in the heart of the kingdom of such as were disaffected and desirous of innovation, in order to join the enemy upon the invasion. Their hopes of effecting this were grounded upon the difference there was amongst us in religion, whence they resolved to labour this point effectually. And the seminaries at that time budding, priests were sent into England to sow and raise up an affection for the Romish religion, to teach and inculcate the validity of the pope's excommunication in releasing subjects from their allegiance, and to awaken and

prepare men's minds to an expectation of a change in the government.

About the same time Ireland was attempted by an invasion, and the name and government of Queen Elizabeth vilified and traduced by scandalous libels; in short, there was an unusual swelling in the state, the prognostic of a greater commotion. Yet I will not affirm that all the priests were concerned in the plot, or privy to the designs then carrying on, but only that they were corrupt instruments of other men's malice. It is, however, attested by the confession of many, that almost all the priests sent into this kingdom from the year above-mentioned to the thirtieth year of the queen, wherein the design of Spain and the pope was put in execution by the armada, had it in their instructions, among other parts of their function, to insinuate "That affairs could not possibly continue long as they were, that they would soon put on a new face, that the pope and the Catholic princes would take care for the English state, provided the English were not their own hindrance." Again, some of the priests had manifestly engaged themselves in plots and contrivances, which tended to the undermining and subverting of the government, and was the strongest proof the whole train of the plot was discovered by letters intercepted from several parts, wherein it was expressly mentioned, "That the vigilancy of the queen and her council, in respect of the Catholics would be baffled, because the queen only watched that no nobleman or person of distinction should rise to head the Catholic faction; whereas the design they laid was, that all things should be disposed and prepared by private men of an inferior rank without their conspiring or consulting together, but wholly in the secret way of confession." And these were the artifices then practised, which are so familiar and customary to that order of men.

In such an impending storm of dangers the queen was obliged, by the law of necessity, to restrain such of her subjects as were disaffected and rendered incurable by these poisons, and who in the meantime began to grow rich by retirement and exemption from public offices; and accordingly some severer laws were enacted. But the evil daily increasing, and the origin thereof being charged upon the seminary priests, bred in foreign parts, and supported by the

bounty and benevolence of foreign princes, the professed enemies of this kingdom, which priests had lived in places where the name of Queen Elizabeth was always tacked to the titles of heretic, excommunicated, and accursed, and who, though they themselves were not engaged in the treasonable practices, yet were known to be the intimate friends of such as had set their hands to villanies of that kind, and who by their arts and poisonous insinuations had infected the whole body of the Catholics, which before was less malignant; there could no other remedy be found but the forbidding such persons all entrance into this kingdom upon pain of death, which at last, in the twenty-seventh year of her reign, was accordingly enacted.

Yet the event itself, which followed soon after, when so violent storm fell upon this kingdom with all its weight, did not in the least abate the envy and hatred of these men, but rather increased it, as if they had divested themselves of all affection to their country. And afterwards indeed, though our fears of Spain, the occasion of this severity, were abated; yet because the memory of the former times was deeply imprinted in men's minds, and because it would have looked like inconstancy to have abrogated the laws already made, or remissness to have neglected them, the very constitution and nature of affairs suggested to the queen that she could not with safety return to the state of things that obtained before the three-and-twentieth year of her reign.

To this may be added the industry of some to increase the revenues of the exchequer, and the earnestness of the ministers of justice, who usually regard no other safety of their country but what consists in the law, both which called loudly for the laws to be put in execution. However, the queen, as a specimen of her good nature, so far took off the edge of the law, that but a few priests in proportion were put to death. And this we say not by way of defence, for the case needs none, as the safety of the kingdom turned upon it; and as the measure of all this severity came far short of those bloody massacres that are scarce fit to be named among Christians, and have proceeded rather from arrogance and malice than from necessity in the Catholic countries, and thus we think we have made it appear that the queen was moderate in the point of religion, and that

the change which ensued was not owing to her nature, but to the necessity of the times.

The greatest proof of her constancy in religion and religious worship is, that notwithstanding Popery, which in her sister's reign had been strenuously established by public authority and the utmost diligence, began now to take deep root, and was confirmed by the consent and zeal of all those in office and places of trust; yet because it was not agreeable to the Word of God, nor to the primitive purity, nor to her own conscience, she, with much courage and with very few helps, extirpated and abolished it. Nor did she do this precipitantly or in a heat, but prudently and seasonably, as may appear from many particulars, and among the rest from a certain answer she occasionally made; for upon her first accession to the throne, when the prisoners, according to custom, were released, as she went to chapel, a courtier, who took a more than ordinary freedom, whether of his own motion or set on by a wiser head, delivered a petition into her hand, and in a great concourse of people, said aloud, "That there were still four or five prisoners unjustly detained, that he came to petition for their liberty as well as the rest, and these were the four Evangelists and the Apostle St. Paul, who had been long imprisoned in an unknown tongue, and not suffered to converse with the people." The queen answered with great prudence, "That it was best to consult them first, whether they were willing to be released or no." And by thus striking a surprising question with a wary, doubtful answer, she reserved the whole matter entirely in her own breast.

Nor yet did she introduce this alteration timorously, and by fits and starts, but orderly, gravely, and maturely; after a conference betwixt the parties, and calling a parliament; and thus, at length, within the compass of one year, she so ordered and established all things belonging to the church, as not to suffer the least alteration afterwards, during her reign. Nay, almost every session of parliament, her public admonition was, that no innovation might be made in the discipline or rites of the church. And thus much for her religion.

Some of the graver sort may, perhaps, aggravate her levities; in loving to be admired and courted, nay, and to have

love-poems made on her; and continuing this humour longer than was decent for her years: yet to take even these matters in a milder sense, they claim a due admiration; being often found in fabulous narrations; as that of "a certain queen in the fortunate islands, in whose court love was allowed, but lust banished." Or if a harsher construction can be put upon them, they are still to be highly admired; as these gaieties did not much eclipse her fame, nor in the least obscure her grandeur, nor injure her government, nor hinder the administration of her affairs; for things of this sort are rarely so well tempered and regulated in princes.

This queen was certainly good and moral; and as such she desired to appear. She hated vice, and studied to grow famous by honourable courses. Thus, for example, having once ordered an express to be written to her ambassador, containing certain instructions, which he was privately to impart to the queen-mother of France, her secretary inserted a clause for the ambassador to use, importing, "That they were two queens, from whose experience, and arts of government, no less was expected than from the greatest kings." She could not bear the comparison; but ordered it to be struck out, saying, "She used quite different arts and methods of government, from the queen-mother."

She was, also, not a little pleased, if any one by chance had dropped such an expression as this, "That though she had lived in a private station, her excellencies could not have passed unobserved by the eye of the world." So unwilling was she, that any of her virtue, or praise, should be owing to the height of her fortune.

But if I should enter upon her praises, whether moral or political, I must either fall into a common-place of virtues, which will be unworthy of so extraordinary a princess; or if I would give them their proper grace and lustre, I must enter into a history of her life; which requires more leisure and a richer vein than mine. To speak the truth, the only proper encomiast of this lady is time; which, for so many ages as it has run, never produced anything like her, of the same sex, for the government of a kingdom.

THE PRAISE OF

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

HENRY, prince of Wales, eldest son of the king of Great Britain, happy in the hopes conceived of him, and now happy in his memory, died on the 6th of November, 1612, to the extreme concern and regret of the whole kingdom, being a youth who had neither offended nor satiated the minds of men. He had by the excellence of his disposition excited high expectations among great numbers of all ranks; nor had through the shortness of his life disappointed them. One capital circumstance added to these was the esteem in which he was commonly held of being firm to the cause of religion: and men of the best judgment were fully persuaded that his life was a great support and security to his father from the danger of conspiracies; an evil against which our age has scarce found a remedy; so that the people's love of religion and the king overflowed to the prince; and this consideration deservedly heightened the sense of the loss of him. His person was strong and erect; his stature of a middle size; his limbs well made; his gait and deportment majestic; his face long and inclining to leanness; his habit of body full; his look grave, and the motion of his eyes rather composed than spirited. In his countenance were some marks of severity, and in his air some appearance of haughtiness. But whoever looked beyond these outward circumstances, and addressed and softened him with a due respect and seasonable discourse, found the prince to be gracious and easy, so that he seemed wholly different in conversation from what he was in appearance, and in fact raised in others an opinion of himself very unlike what his manner would at first have suggested. He was unquestionably ambitious of commendation and glory, and was strongly affected by every appearance of what is good and honourable, which in a young man is to be considered as virtue. Arms and military men were highly valued by him: and he breathed himself something warlike. He was much devoted

to the magnificence of buildings and works of all kinds, though in other respects rather frugal; and was a lover both of antiquity and arts. He showed his esteem of learning in general more by the countenance which he gave to it, than by the time which he spent in it. His conduct in respect of morals did him the utmost honour; for he was thought exact in the knowledge and practice of every duty. His obedience to the king his father was wonderfully strict and exemplary: towards the queen he behaved with the highest reverence: to his brother he was indulgent; and had an entire affection for his sister, whom he resembled in person as much as that of a young man could the beauty of a virgin. The instructors of his younger years (which rarely happens) continued high in his favour. In conversation, he both expected a proper decorum and practised it. In the daily business of life, and the allotment of hours for the several offices of it, he was more constant and regular than is usual at his age. His affections and passions were not strong, but rather equal than warm. With regard to that of love, there was a wonderful silence, considering his age, so that he passed that dangerous time of his youth in the highest fortune, and in a vigorous state of health, without any remarkable imputation of gallantry. In his court no person was observed to have any ascendant over him, or strong interest with him: and even the studies with which he was most delighted had rather proper times assigned them, than were indulged to excess, and were rather repeated in their turns, than that any one kind of them had the preference of and controlled the rest: whether this arose from the moderation of his temper, and that in a genius not very forward, but ripening by slow degrees, it did not yet appear what would be the prevailing object of his inclination. He had certainly strong parts, and was endued both with curiosity and capacity; but in speech he was slow, and in some measure hesitating. But whoever diligently observed what fell from him, either by way of question or remark, saw it to be full to the purpose, and expressive of no common genius. So that under that slowness and infrequency of discourse, his judgment had more the appearance of suspense and solicitude to determine rightly, than of weakness and want of apprehension. In the meantime he was wonderfully patient in hearing, even in business

of the greatest length; and this with unwearied attention, so that his mind seldom wandered from the subject, or seemed fatigued, but he applied himself wholly to what was said or done, which (if his life had been lengthened) promised a very superior degree of prudence. There were indeed in the prince some things obscure, and not to be discovered by the sagacity of any person, but by time only, which was denied him; but what appeared were excellent, which is sufficient for his fame.

He died in the nineteenth year of his age, of an obstinate fever, which during the summer, through the excessive heat and dryness of the season, unusual to islands, had been epidemical, though not fatal, but in autumn became more mortal. Fame, which, as Tacitus says, is more tragical with respect to the deaths of princes, added a suspicion of poison: but as no signs of this appeared, especially in his stomach, which uses to be chiefly affected by poison, this report soon vanished.

THE BEGINNING

OF THE

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By the decease of Elizabeth, queen of England, the issues of King Henry the Eighth failed, being spent in one generation, and three successions. For that king, though he were one of the goodliest persons of his time, yet he left only by his six wives three children, who, reigning successively, and dying childless, made place to the line of Margaret, his eldest sister, married to James the Fourth, king of Scotland. There succeeded therefore to the kingdom of England, James the Sixth, then king of Scotland, descended of the same Margaret both by father and mother: so that by a rare event in the pedigrees of kings, it seemed as if the Divine Providence, to extinguish and take away all envy and note of a stranger, had doubled upon his person, within the circle of one age, the

royal blood of England, by both parents. This succession drew towards it the eyes of all men, being one of the most memorable accidents that had happened a long time in the Christian world. For the kingdom of France having been reunited in the age before in all the provinces thereof formerly dismembered; and the kingdom of Spain being, of more fresh memory, united and made entire, by the annexing of Portugal in the person of Philip the Second; there remained but this third and last union for the counterpoising of the power of these three great monarchies, and the disposing of the affairs of Europe thereby to a more assured and universal peace and concord. And this event did hold men's observations and discourses the more, because the island of Great Britain, divided from the rest of the world, was never before united in itself under one king, notwithstanding the people be of one language, and not separate by mountains or great waters; and notwithstanding also that the uniting of them had been in former times industriously attempted both by war and treaty. Therefore it seemed a manifest work of Providence, and a case of reservation for these times; insomuch that the vulgar conceived that now there was an end given, and a consummation to superstitious prophecies, the belief of fools, but the talk sometimes of wise men, and to an ancient tacit expectation which had by tradition been infused and inveterated into men's minds. But as the best divinations and predictions are the politic and probable foresight and conjectures of wise men, so in this matter the providence of King Henry the Seventh was in all men's mouths; who being one of the deepest and most prudent princes of the world, upon the deliberation concerning the marriage of his eldest daughter into Scotland, had, by some speech uttered by him, showed himself sensible and almost prescient of this event.

Neither did there want a concurrence of divers rare external circumstances, besides the virtues and condition of the person, which gave great reputation to this succession. A king in the strength of his years, supported with great alliances abroad, established with royal issue at home, at peace with all the world, practised in the regiment of such a kingdom, as might rather enable a king by variety of accidents than corrupt him with affluence or vain-glory; and one

that, besides his universal capacity and judgment, was notably exercised and practised in matters of religion and the church, which in these times, by the confused use of both swords, are become so intermixed with considerations of estate, as most of the counsels of sovereign princes or republics depend upon them; but nothing did more fill foreign nations with admiration and expectation of his succession than the wonderful and, by them, unexpected consent of all estates and subjects of England, for the receiving of the king without the least scruple, pause, or question. For it had been generally dispersed by the fugitives beyond the seas, who, partly to apply themselves to the ambition of foreigners, and partly to give estimation and value to their own employments, used to represent the state of England in a false light, that after Queen Elizabeth's decease there must follow in England nothing but confusions, interreigns, and perturbations of estate, likely far to exceed the ancient calamities of the civil wars between the houses of Lancaster and York, by how much more the dissensions were like to be more mortal and bloody when foreign competition should be added to domestical, and divisions for religion to matter of title to the crown. And in special, Parsons the Jesuit, under a disguised name, had not long before published an express treatise, wherein, whether his malice made him believe his own fancies, or whether he thought it the fittest way to move sedition, like evil spirits, which seem to foretell the tempest they mean to move; he laboured to display and give colour to all the vain pretences and dreams of succession which he could imagine, and thereby had possessed many abroad that knew not the affairs here, with those his vanities. Neither wanted there here within this realm divers persons both wise and well affected, who, though they doubted not of the undoubted right, yet setting before themselves the waves of people's hearts, guided no less by sudden and temporary winds than by the natural course and motion of the waters, were not without fear what might be the event. For Queen Elizabeth being a princess of extreme caution, and yet one that loved admiration above safety, and knowing the declaration of a successor might in point of safety be disputable, but in point of admiration and respect assuredly to her disadvantage, had from the beginning set it

down for a maxim of estate to impose a silence touching succession. Neither was it only reserved as a secret of estate, but restrained by severe laws, that no man should presume to give opinion or maintain argument touching the same; so, though the evidence of right drew all the subjects of the land to think one thing, yet the fear of danger of law made no man privy to others' thought. And therefore it rejoiced all men to see so fair a morning of a kingdom, and to be thoroughly secured of former apprehensions, as a man that awaketh out of a fearful dream. But so it was, that not only the consent but the applause and joy was infinite, and not to be expressed, throughout the realm of England, upon this succession; whereof the consent, no doubt, may be truly ascribed to the clearness of the right, but the general joy, alacrity, and gratulation, were the effects of differing causes. For Queen Elizabeth, although she had the use of many both virtues and demonstrations that might draw and knit unto her the hearts of her people, yet nevertheless carrying a hand restrained in gift, and strained in points of prerogative, could not answer the votes either of servants or subjects to a full contentment, especially in her latter days, when the continuance of her reign, which extended to five-and-forty years, might discover in people their natural desire and inclination towards change; so that a new court and a new reign were not to many unwelcome. Many were glad, and especially those of settled estate and fortune, that the fears and uncertainties were overblown, and that the die was cast. Others, that had made their way with the king, or offered their service in the time of the former queen, thought now the time was come for which they had prepared; and generally all such as had any dependence upon the late earl of Essex, who had mingled the service of his own ends with the popular pretence of advancing the king's title, made account their cause was amended. Again, such as might misdoubt they had given the king any occasion of distaste, did contend by their forwardness and confidence to show it was but their fastness to the former government, and that those affections ended with the time. The papists nourished their hopes, by collating the case of the papists in England and under Queen Elizabeth, and the case of the papists in Scotland under the king; interpreting that the condition of

them in Scotland was the less grievous, and divining of the king's government here accordingly, besides the comfort they ministered to themselves from the memory of the queen his mother. The ministers, and those which stood for the presbytery, thought their cause had more sympathy with the discipline of Scotland than the hierarchy of England, and so took themselves to be a degree nearer their desires. Thus had every condition of persons some contemplation of benefit, which they promised themselves—over-reaching, perhaps, according to the nature of hope, but yet not without some probable ground of conjecture. At which time also there came forth in print the king's book, entitled Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, containing matter of instruction to the prince his son touching the office of a king; which book falling into every man's hand, filled the whole realm, as with a good perfume or incense, before the king's coming in; for being excellently written, and having nothing of affectation, it did not only satisfy better than particular reports touching the king's disposition, but far exceeded any formal or curious edict or declaration, which could have been devised of that nature, wherewith princes in the beginning of their reigns do use to grace themselves, or at least express themselves gracious in the eyes of their people. And this was for the general the state and constitution of men's minds upon this change; the actions themselves passed in this manner.

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The rest is wanting.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Julius Cæsar, at the first, encountered a rugged fortune, which turned to his advantage: for this curbed his pride, and spurred his industry. He was a man of unruly passions and desires; but extremely clear and settled in his judgment and understanding: as appears by his ready address to extricate himself both in action and discourse; for no man ever resolved quicker, or spoke clearer. But his will

and appetite were restless, and ever launched out beyond his acquisitions; yet the transitions of his actions were not rash, but well concerted: for he always brought his undertakings to complete and perfect periods. Thus, after having obtained numerous victories, and procured a great degree of security in Spain, he did not slight the remains of the civil war in that country; but having, in person, seen all things fully composed and settled there, he immediately went upon his expedition against the Parthians.

He was, without dispute, a man of a great and noble soul; though rather bent upon procuring his own private advantage, than good to the public: for he referred all things to himself, and was the truest centre of his own actions. Whence flowed his great and almost perpetual felicity and success: for neither his country nor religion, neither good offices, relations, nor friends, could check or moderate his designs. Again, he was not greatly bent upon preserving his memory; for he neither established a state of things, built lasting monuments, nor enacted laws of perpetuity, but worked entirely for his own present and private ends; thus confining his thoughts within the limits of his own times. It is true, he endeavoured after fame and reputation, as he judged they might be of service to his designs; but certainly, in his heart, he rather aimed at power than dignity, and courted reputation and honours only as they were instruments of power and grandeur. So that he was led, not by any laudable course of discipline, but by a kind of natural impulse, to the sovereignty; which he rather affected to seize, than appear to deserve.

This procedure ingratiated him with the people, who had no dignity to lose; but, among the nobility and gentry, who desired to retain their honours, it gained him the character of a bold, aspiring man. And certainly they judged right; for he was naturally very audacious, and never put on the appearance of modesty but to serve a turn. Yet this daring spirit of his was so tempered, that it neither subjected him to the censure of rashness, or intolerable haughtiness, nor rendered his nature suspected; but was taken to proceed from a certain simplicity and freedom of behaviour, joined with the nobility of his birth. And in all other respects he had the reputation, not of a cunning and designing, but of an

open and sincere man. And though he was a perfect master of dissimulation, and wholly made up of art, without leaving anything to nature but what art had proved, yet nothing of design or affectation appeared in his carriage: so that he was thought to follow his own natural disposition. He did not, however, stoop to any mean artifices, which men unpractised in the world, who depend not upon their own strength, but the abilities of others, employ to support their authority: for he was perfectly skilled in all the ways of men, and transacted everything of consequence in his own person, without the interposition of others.

He had the perfect secret of extinguishing envy, and thought it proper in his proceedings to secure this effect, though with some diminution of his dignity. For being wholly bent upon real power, he almost constantly declined, and contentedly postponed all the empty show, and gaudy appearance of greatness: till at length, whether satiated with enjoyment, or corrupted by flattery, he affected even the ensigns of royalty, the style and diadem of a king, which proved his ruin. He entertained the thought of dominion from his very youth; and this was easily suggested to him by the example of Sylla, the affinity of Marius, the emulation of Pompey, and the corruption and troubles of the times. But he paved his way to it in a wonderful manner: first, by a popular and seditious, and afterwards by a military and imperial force. For at the entrance he was to break through the power and authority of the senate; which remaining entire, there was no passage to an immoderate and extraordinary sovereignty. Next, the power of Crassus and Pompey was to be subdued, which could not be but by arms. And, therefore, like a skilful architect of his own fortune, he began and carried on his first structure by largesses; by corrupting the courts of justice; by renewing the memory of Caius Marius and his party, whilst most of the senators and nobility were of Sylla's faction; by the Agrarian laws; by seditious tribunes, whom he instigated; by the fury of Catiline, and his conspirators, whom he secretly favoured; by the banishment of Cicero, upon whom the authority of the senate turned; and other the like artifices: but what finished the affair, was the alliance of Crassus and Pompey, joined with himself.

Having thus secured all matters on this side, he directly turned to the other; he was now made proconsul of Gaul for five years, and afterwards continued for five more; he was furnished with arms, legions, and commanded a warlike province, adjacent to Italy. For he knew that, after he had strengthened himself with arms and a military power, neither Crassus nor Pompey could make head against him; the one trusting to his riches, the other to his fame and reputation; the one decaying in age, the other in authority; and neither of them resting upon true and solid foundations. And all this succeeded to his wish; especially as he had bound and obliged all the senators, magistrates, and those who had any power, so firmly to himself, by private benefits, that he feared no conspiracy or combination against his designs; till he had openly invaded the state. And though this was ever his scheme, and at last put in execution, yet he did not unmask; but what by the reasonableness of his demands, his pretences of peace, and moderating his successes, he turned the whole load of envy upon the opposite party; and appeared to take arms of necessity, for his own preservation and safety. The emptiness of this pretence manifestly appeared, when the civil wars were ended; all his rivals, that might give him any disturbance, slain; and he possessed of the regal power; for now he never once thought of restoring the republic, nor so much as pretended it. Which plainly showed, as the event confirmed, that his designs were all along upon the sovereignty; and, accordingly he never seized occasions as they happened, but raised and worked them out himself.

His principal talent lay in military matters; wherein he so excelled, that he could not only lead, but mould an army to his mind. For he was as skilful in governing men's passions, as in conducting affairs; and this he did not by any ordinary discipline, that taught his soldiers obedience, stung them with shame, or awed them by severity; but in such a manner, as raised a surprising ardour and alacrity in them, and made them confident of victory and success; thus endearing the soldiery to him, more than was convenient for a free state. And as he was well versed in war of all kinds, and as he joined civil and military arts together, nothing could come so suddenly upon him, but he had an expedient

ready for it; nothing so adverse, but he drew some advantage from it.

He had a due regard to his person; for in great battles he would sit in his pavilion, and manage all by adjutants. Whence he received a double advantage; as thus coming the seldomer in danger; and in case of an unfortunate turn, could animate and renew the fight, by his own presence, as by a fresh supply. In all his military preparations he did not square himself to precedents only, but ever with exquisite judgment, took new measures, according to the present exigence.

He was constant, singularly beneficent, and indulgent in his friendships; but made such choice of friends, as easily showed that he sought for those who might forward, and not obstruct his designs. And as he was both by nature and habit led, not to be eminent among great men, but to command among inferiors, he made friends of mean and industrious persons, to whom he alone gave law. As for the nobility, and his equals, he contracted friendship with them just as they might serve his turn; and admitted none to his intimacies, but such whose whole expectations centered upon him.

He was tolerably learned; but chiefly in what related to civil policy. For he was well versed in history; and perfectly understood both the edge and weight of words: and because he attributed much to his good stars, he affected to be thought skilful in astronomy. His eloquence was natural to him, and pure.

He was given to pleasures, and profuse in them, which served at his first setting out as a cloak to his ambition; for no danger was apprehended from one of this cast. Yet he so governed his pleasures, that they were no prejudice to himself, nor business; but rather whetted than blunted the vigour of his mind. He was temperate in diet, not delicate in his amours, and pleasant and magnificent at public shows.

This being his character, the same thing at last was the means of his fall which at first was a step to his rise, viz., his affectation of popularity: for nothing is more popular than to forgive our enemies. Through which virtue, or cunning, he lost his life.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

If ever mortal had a great, serene, well-regulated mind, it was Augustus Cæsar; as appears by the heroical actions of his early youth. For men of a turbulent nature commonly pass their youth in various errors, and in their middle age first begin to show themselves; but those of a sedate and calm disposition may shine even in the bud. And as the perfection of the mind, like that of the body, consists in health, gracefulness, and strength; in the latter he was inferior to his uncle Julius; but in beauty and health of mind superior. For Julius Cæsar, being of a restless, discomposed spirit, as those generally prove who are troubled with the falling-sicknesses, yet cleared the way to his own ends with the utmost address and prudence. His error was the not rightly fixing his ends; but with an insatiable and unnatural appetite still pursuing further views. Whereas Augustus, sober and mindful of his mortality, seemed to have thoroughly weighed his ends, and laid them down in admirable order. For first he desired to have the sovereign rule, next he endeavoured to appear worthy of it, then thought it but reasonable, as a man, to enjoy his exalted fortune, and lastly, he turned his thoughts to such actions as might perpetuate his name, and transmit some image and effect of his government to futurity. Hence in his youth he affected power; in his middle age, dignity; in his decline of life, pleasure; and in his old age, fame, and the good of posterity.

THE END.

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